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WORLD REVIEW is the only English monthly review giving an extensive selection of articles from publications all over the world. These articles are chosen with great care, since WORLD REVIEW can only be valuable as its sponsors want it to be, if it avoids all political bias. The Editor in his own article, and other signed contributors, express their opinions as frankly as they please. Otherwise the Review would lack force and colour. But the ultimate object of WORLD REVIEW is to perform a useful and progressive service by allowing

THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

OUTLINE OF POLICY

by VERNON BARTLETT

"BUT what would *you* do," the critics of the government are always asked, "if you were in Chamberlain's situation?"

It is not enough to answer that the question is unfair because we never should have allowed ourselves to get into Chamberlain's situation; that ever since the Peace Conference we have been warning in favour of concessions to prevent the development of something like National Socialism and against concessions when National Socialism had become domineering and aggressive; that we have agreed since the early days of the wars in China and Spain that it was a British interest to help the Chinese and Spanish governments; that it is naïve and dangerous to hope to break the Rome-Berlin axis by cajoling first the leader at one end of it and then the leader at the other end.

Well, what *would* we do? Here is a situation more surrounded with dangers to such liberties as we possess than any in which this country has found itself for centuries. Hitler may not yet be as openly an enemy of this country as Napoleon was, and his conquests are not so far-reaching, but we are so much more dependent upon overseas trade than we were five generations ago. A century of easy prosperity because the

world was willing to pour its riches into our laps in return for our coal has made us soft and lazy. The rise of these dictators anxious to possess themselves of our wealth has coincided with terrible maladjustments at home because that same coal is now being replaced by oil and water power. Very slowly we are organising our immense resources for war, but the temptation to the dictators to strike before we are strong may easily become irresistible. The people of Great Britain, lacking guidance and leadership, are either fatuously optimistic or dangerously defeatist.

Here, I think, is an immediate and practical policy. In foreign affairs it is no longer of any use to talk about the obligations of the Covenant of the League. That document may yet become the world's *Magna Carta,* for there can be no lasting peace without generally accepted rules for collective resistance to aggressors. But it has been treated with such contempt by the British and other governments that public opinion would not now honour its obligations. Therefore, we should make it clear which nations we would help, were they to be attacked, and how far we would go to help them. The Dominions, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, and Egypt are the most obvious. I would as soon see action taken to defend the Scandinavian countries as the Dominions, for they have reached a level of civilisation well above our own, but it is doubtful whether we could do much to help them now that we have allowed the Germans to become the masters of the Baltic. A threat to any of those countries is so obviously a threat to us that our people would be prepared to fight for them. A threat to many other countries would affect us so much for cultural, economic or strategic reasons that we could at least give them financial help if they were attacked. China, for example, has claims on us both because it is the home of a great civilisation and because we have enormous economic interests there. Rightly or wrongly, we should be much more ready to help Switzerland than Lithuania, Greece than Guatemala, Irak than Iran, and it would be wise and honest to say so.

Help for Spain

But one of these first category nations, Spain, is already being attacked. Then help should be given to her government without delay. Even Mr. Garvin in the *Observer,* after pleading the rebel General's cause for two years, has suddenly woken up to the dangers of German or Italian air and submarine bases round the coast of Spain. For two years,

as a result of the most shameless example of class prejudice in modern history, the Conservatives in this country have allowed the Italians and the Germans to gain control over territory as vital to the British Commonwealth of Nations as the Lowlands and the Channel Ports. The disastrous results have not been very obvious because, despite the handicaps we put in their way, the Spanish republicans have gone on fighting their desperate and epic war. The slow-growing indignation of the British people at least prevented Mr. Chamberlain from completing their destruction by agreeing to Signor Mussolini's demand that belligerent rights should be recognised for General Franco. But the Duce made it quite clear during the Rome visit that he would continue to send arms to the Rebels. Very well, the least we on our side can do is to say that we must send arms to the Spanish government. There can be no risk about this, for we shall only be doing what the dictators boast of doing.

That, then, should be an immediate step—we should denounce the Non-Intervention Agreement and claim the same right to help the Spanish government as Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini have taken for themselves to help General Franco. And a second step should be to give large credits to the Chinese government since the Japanese have made it so clear that in the event of a victory they will push our trade out of the Far East altogether. These are ordinary defence measures, and the fact that they happen to tally with international conceptions of law and decency makes them all the more advisable, since their adoption would win the sympathy of the smaller "neutral" states, the Dominions and the United States.

The third step follows logically from this line of thought. In a frank struggle between two rival imperialisms there is little to win the support of the onlookers. There is no reason why even the Dominions should fight for a Great Britain which ceased to represent their conceptions of freedom and fair play. They would prefer to turn to the United States whose interpretation of democracy is much nearer their own than is that of Great Britain. We in this country are far too ready to believe that every English-speaking individual would at once spring to our defence, whatever the cause. But that is greatly to underestimate the effect in the United States, in New Zealand, in Canada, in the Union of South Africa of the Hoare-Laval plan, the dismissal of Anthony Eden, the betrayal of the Czechs, the cowardly pretence of non-intervention in Spain. If we are to be sure of the immediate support of the English-

speaking peoples, and of the smaller countries of Europe, our foreign policy must once again be based on honest and sound principles.

A Clear Statement of Belief Wanted

We should, in other words, make a perfectly clear statement of our political beliefs which could turn people's minds away from panic isolation or surrender and towards a rebuilding of collective security. This, again, could no more be considered an unfriendly or a provocative act than a refusal still to be bound by a Spanish non-intervention agreement which Signor Mussolini does not pretend to respect. The earlier attempt at a collective system failed because it was based rather on political opportunism than on political belief—while the French government, for example, talked a lot about its devotion to the League it made alliances with the Little Entente, with Poland, with Belgium, and with Russia which played hell with the League Covenant. What we need at the moment is not a rigid and unholy Holy Alliance, but a loose association of states that, because they have in common certain conceptions of decency and democracy, are prepared to co-operate in as many spheres of activity as possible.

Need for Domestic Reform

So much for foreign affairs. But if this Empire is to survive it must carry through important domestic reforms to give it greater strength. "Why Hitler will win," a prominent Nazi said to me during the Hitler-Chamberlain talk at Berchtesgaden, "is because he has realised that the wealth of a nation is not the amount of gold hidden away in the vaults of its national bank but is the brains and muscles of its citizens." And he was very much nearer the truth than we like to admit. There are far too many people whose service to the state consists in sitting on their backsides in Pall Mall clubs drawing so much a ton on steel produced by sweating workers in Yorkshire or so much a pound on rubber produced by sweating natives in Malay. If the nation is to be strong it must develop a new conception of wealth and a new respect for labour. It is a disgrace and a shame that there should be people able to profiteer on the nation's food in time of peace or its sandbags and shells in time of war, and while such conditions obtain the merits of "democracy" are not so obvious that our citizens will go out to fight for it as one man.

If New Zealand can pay old age pensions of £1 a week at 60 there

is no reason to believe we can only afford 10/- a week at 65. If we expect to have a fit and strong nation it is nonsense to clamour for "physical jerks" and yet so to under-nourish millions of members of the community that they cannot conceivably be physically fit. If we want to persuade the dictators that our democracy must be treated with a healthy respect we should at once have a Ministry of Supply and a national effort which brought back into employment, whatever the cost, hundreds of thousands of men who are now learning to drag out dismal and useless lives in hungry idleness—and the cost would not be so great since every economist tells us that prosperity depends upon the ability to hand out greater purchasing power to more members of the community. If we were in Chamberlain's situation we should not expect the people to be united behind us except on a progressive social policy, or to have confidence in us while we built them little tin huts as protection against high explosive, or to respect us while our conception of leadership was to do nothing until a resentful public or a loud-mouthed dictator pushed us into some action.

The British people is not decadent, but its leaders are.

THE BAROMETER

Canard Enchainé *Paris*

"Zut! He's coming out with his umbrella. . . ."

FOREIGN BALANCES

by DOUGLAS REED

IN these days I think with regret of the times, so near and yet so far, when a man could with leisured ease write an article in the middle of the month, and feel confident that it would still fit the situation at the month's end. To-day the journalist is always straining after the electric rabbit of news, but seldom quite catches up with it.

As I write, in the middle of January, everybody in the countries where I travel is asking whether Mr. Chamberlain, in Rome, will succeed in producing a rabbit from the hat which he is otherwise under pledge one day to eat, and the general feeling is that he will not. The belief of most good judges in Danubia is that German and Italian collaboration is as yet solid and complete, that France and England have to expect increasing pressure and increasing demands, that the smaller European countries will in 1939 continue to come increasingly under German influence. The synchronisation of German and Italian methods in presenting claims and springing surprises seems to be perfect.

So much for the greater picture. The other question that all men are asking is, what will be Germany's next move? Herr Hitler has placed himself under the same unwritten obligation not to disappoint his public as a prima donna. This universal expectation of "the next move" is in itself a valuable psychological asset for the potential mover.

The answer to this second question is always a confession of perplexity. Up to the subjugation of Czechoslovakia all was clear: the sequence of Germany's moves, from the seizure of the Rhineland to the siege of Bohemia, was as easy to foresee as a time-table is easy to read. But the fall of Czechoslovakia has opened up possibilities in so many directions that confident prophecy is no longer possible.

Ultimately the great question to be answered is whether Germany will move eastward, and become committed to an exhausting struggle with the colossus Russia, or whether she will find some means of neutralising all danger from the east and move westward, where world domination and overseas possessions lie, for those who are strong enough to take them. But the moment for that decision seems not yet to have come. The last intervening problems have to be solved—for Germany is not yet face to face with Russia.

For my part, I believe, after travelling about Danubia in the months that have elapsed since Munich, that one part of Germany's movement

in 1939, if not the whole of it, will be to extend her domination over new Danubian, Balkan and Eastern European lands. Whether the actual German frontiers will be extended, or only the zone of German domination, whether the countries that are brought within this zone will be allowed to retain a greater or lesser measure of self-government, I cannot foresee.

What is a Frontier?

For what are "actual frontiers" to-day? The case of Czechoslovakia shows that the word "frontier" is losing its meaning. When the German road has been built across Bohemia the Czechs will be in a German compound. In fact that road will be the German frontier, in fact the Czechs will be inside it—but in theory it is not the frontier. It is, however, a pledge for Czech docility, and by such devices the zone of German domination can yet be spread much further. Immediately, it threatens to encroach on Hungary and Rumania; if it engulfs them it will envelop Bulgaria and Greece. Then there is the great question mark of "The Ukraine."

The beauty of the process is that it is gradual, not sudden and spectacular, and that for this reason the bulk of people in England and other distant countries do not realise what is happening. The process has first been applied in Czechoslovakia, and this makes that country still to-day one of the most instructive in Europe to watch.

The ultimate aim of Germany is now, beyond all reasonable doubt, to force the Czechs to make a full political, military and customs alliance. In the long run, they will almost certainly have to agree to this; they cannot resist. Meanwhile, German domination advances step by step. The German-language university in Prague has now been converted into an entirely German, Hitlerist citadel. German-language newspapers of Democratic, Catholic, Socialist or Jewish tradition are disappearing; the Nazi newspapers are taking their place. German-language periodicals of anti-Hitlerist politics imported from abroad are gradually being banned. The demand for the suppression of all political parties has been complied with in Slovakia and Ruthenia, will be complied with in Bohemia; but simultaneously full freedom for the small remaining German minority to form its own National Socialist Party, its own Storm Troops, its own Hitler Youth organisation, its own Labour Camps, is made, and this demand too will ultimately have to be granted.

New Local Führers

This is the picture of what will eventually happen, step by step, throughout Danubia. Konrad Henlein's name is already almost forgotten, like that of Seyss-Inquart. Other Henleins, unknown yesterday, are springing up in the new lands towards which the zone of German domination is moving. In the Czech lands the local "Führer" is the former Henleinist Deputy, Ernst Kundt, who in his speeches consistently adjures the Czechs not to forget that they are already within the German boundaries and to behave accordingly. In Slovakia, there is Herr Karmasin—and Bratislava, the Slovak capital, is only separated from Germany by the Danube bridge. In little Ruthenia (now Carpathian-Ukraine) there is one Dr. Aldofredi.

In Hungary, there is Herr Ernst Baksch, gradually taking shape on the political screen as "Führer" of the 600,000 Germans in that country. In Rumania, there is Herr Fritz Fabritius, erstwhile Austro-Hungarian officer. Herr Baksch has opened negotiations with the Hungarian Government for a special status for his Germans; modest in the beginning, they will in the end achieve the same privileged position as that of Herr Kundt's Germans in Bohemia. Herr Fabritius has already obtained from the Rumanian Government, which in theory has suppressed all political parties other than its own monopolistic organisation, full liberty for the Germans to maintain their own separate organisation—which in practice means a Nazi Party in Rumania.

In Yugoslavia and Bulgaria German minorities are also being organised and "Führers" being appointed.

The fall of Czechoslovakia has opened the way to Germany to all these countries. She can in three ways exercise direct pressure on governments fearful of her prowess and vicinity: by claims for privileged status and political liberties for the local German minorities, by supporting in word or deed the native Fascist movements, by playing off these Danubian countries, all of which have some cause for mutual antagonism, against each other.

The best examples are Hungary and Rumania.

Rumania, her oil and grain especially tempting to Germany, surprisingly incurred displeasure in Berchtesgaden by having Corneliu Codreanu and thirteen of his men shot, immediately after King Carol's return from his meeting with Herr Hitler. Now, an antagonistic Germany has many means of making things unpleasant for Rumania. She recently

ordered the return of Czechoslovak territory to Hungary, and Hungary has territorial claims on Rumania.

In Bucharest a Hungarian demand for this territory, backed by Germany, is much feared, and with that backing it could hardly be refused. Then there is also the powerful German minority, and the ghost of the officially deceased Iron Guard, both of which are possible levers against a recalcitrant Government in Bucharest. Again, a small strip of Northern Rumania might be claimed to belong to "Ukrainia," if this spectral State is really to be formed under German sponsorship.

The reasons for Rumanian anxiety are clear. The choice before Rumania is that which Czechoslovakia had—to make concessions in the hope of saving a nominal independence or to take the risk of unpleasant consequences.

But if Rumania be docile and Hungary indocile, the weapon can be used just as well the other way. In Hungary the powerful National Socialist movement is suppressed, and its leader lies in prison. The German minority, which has far fewer liberties than that in Rumania, has been little used as yet as a lever. Support for Hungarian claims against Rumania could be withheld.

And so on, ad infinitum. All the doors are open. Danubia lies before Germany; she may seek to divide and rule.

The Great Ukraine

As to "The Great Ukraine," I am baffled. The next German aim, or one of the next aims, as many good observers say, is "to liberate the Ukrainians," of whom, according to their emigrant propagandists, some 25,000,000 live under Russian and 8,000,000 under Polish rule, with small offshoots in Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

The fact that, at the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the little tongue of land now called "Carpathian-Ukraine" was at German desire made into an independent statelet certainly supports this theory. If the wellbeing of this handful of racially mixed people alone had been considered they would have been divided between Poland and Hungary, so that they could have come down from their mountains, sold their meagre produce, bought food, sought work. That independence was forced on them can only be explained by the determination that the word "Ukraine" should appear on the map, the small seed from which The Great Ukraine State should spring in 1939.

But how this is to be accomplished is difficult to see. Carpathian-Ukraine is a weak platform for so great a venture. I found Chust a village, and the population of "Carpathian-Ukraine" divided, in what seemed to the eye to be about equal proportions, between Jews and miserably poor mountaineers. In Chust, in these appallingly poverty-stricken hamlets, it was hard to take "Ukraine" seriously.

Nevertheless, there is in Berlin a man who was once made by Germany Hetman of the Ukraine. He still has his crown. He is a Colonel of the German Reichswehr. There are in Berlin, in London, in New York, Ukrainian organisations which seem to have ample funds and distribute well-produced literature about The Great Ukraine. Apparently this question does impend, apparently Germany does intend, somehow, somewhen, to support the cause of the Ukrainians. How she can make Poland give up her 8,000,000, Russia her 25,000,000 Ukrainians is a thing that no man can explain.

Such is the picture, in mid-January of 1939, which will be a year full of alarums and excursions.

New men are coming to the centre of the stage—rulers, ministers, politicians, local "Führers" of whom in the past little has been heard.

King Carol, the spectre of Codreanu stalking the streets, the shadow of Germany approaching the frontiers, has as difficult a task before him as any King ever had. When he comes and goes, between his Windsor at Sinaia and his palace in Bucharest, the streets are cleared. When he reviews his troops no window may be opened, the public is excluded from the route. This is at the orders of zealous subordinates. Too zealous? Who knows. The King himself is a man of courage and resolution, with a mild leaning towards the flamboyant in uniforms and actions, but of good health and spirit. His problems are accumulating.

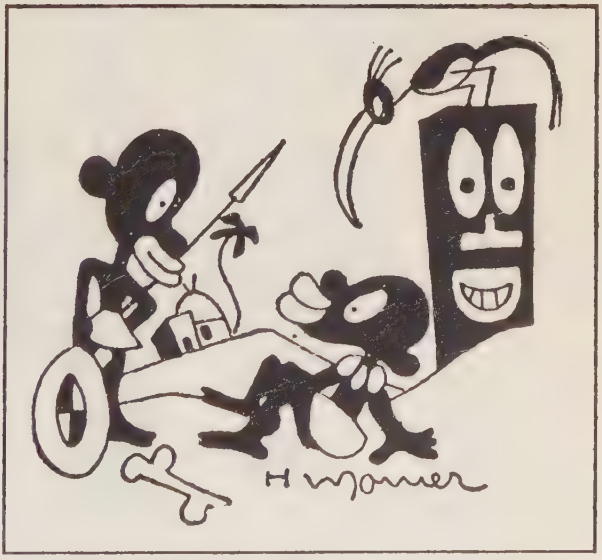
Behind him, the Minister formally responsible for the shootings, a strange figure, Armand Conalescu, who is as closely guarded in his offices as any man I have seen. A small man, with a monocle of black glass over his left eye, and the most amiable of smiles. Another man of energy and courage, and he needs both of these, if the precautions that his subordinates take are any sign. But he seems unafraid. Nevertheless, if there are any Iron Guards left he is their hated enemy, and the indications are that there are one or two.

In Hungary a man has sprung into the limelight who was little known outside an inner circle—the Margrave Pallavicini. Aristocrat,

Monarchist, Catholic, the model of one of Kaiser Franz Joseph's cavalry officers, tall, slim, and with the beautiful brown shoes that only cavalry officers seem to achieve. Pallavicini has headed the counter-movement to the threatening wave of German and Nazi influence, has led the opposition to the Imredy Government's new bill which on paper is to reduce the Jewish share in Hungarian business, commercial and professional life to 6 per cent, which puts the Jews on a racial instead of a religious basis (because of the Nazi objection that baptismal certificates are cheaply and easily acquired) and provides that the Jews shall return six per cent of members to the Hungarian Parliament as a separate election. In a letter of reproach to the Prime Minister, the Margrave Pallavicini drew a picture of "high ecclesiastics going amid the jeers of gutter urchins to vote as half-breeds at separate Jewish elections."

His leadership of this cause has brought him much enmity in Germany, and the Nazi newspapers daily attack this hitherto retiring nobleman as the champion of the Jews, Liberals and Marxists who are trying to prevent all social reform and make Hungary a preserve of the landowners and Jewish industrialists.

"Tell me, don't you think my profile looks rather Italian?"



Canard Enchainé, Paris

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

"Kladderadatsch" *Berlin*

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

"Sorry, all places here are already taken."

"Le Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

SPIRITUALISM

"Spirit of Munich, are you there?"

"Lumière" *Paris*

"Excuse us, signor, for presenting ourselves in this informal attire."

"Le Canard Enchaîné" *Paris*

MEN OF GOOD WILL

"Perhaps we can make him laugh if we tickle the sole of his foot."

"Marianne" *Paris*

"He must be an Italian who thinks he is in Tunis."

"La République" *Paris*

ITALIANS AND NATIONALISTS IN SPAIN

"Do you think, señor, that we will take it?"
"What, señor, Tarragona?"
"No, Djibuti!"

"Le Canard Enchaîné" *Paris*

"He is an enthusiastic believer in Greater Italy."

THE OPEN FORUM

PEACE THROUGH FREEDOM

by DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P.

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing their views, articles written by men of international fame. Mr. Duncan Sandys, ex-diplomat, very active M.P., and son-in-law of Mr. Winston Churchill, has already given impressive proofs of courage and vision. He writes as the prime mover of a new group, the 100,000, *which hopes as a beginning to enrol* 100,000 *citizens of all parties or of no party pledged to defend and to advance democratic freedom in this country. Below he gives his reasons for the belief that, in the absence of resolute politicians, the people themselves must be prepared to lead*

NOT for centuries has our country been faced with so grave a situation as that which confronts it to-day. Our influence in the affairs of the world is ebbing away. No only are we not strong enough to lend support to the cause of liberty and justice in other lands when it is assailed: even our ability to defend our own country against foreign aggression is now in doubt. The growth of the Nazi-Fascist power together with our own lack of foresight and resolution has brought us and the other democracies to the point where politically, economically and spiritually our very independence is in danger.

Even at home our freedom is in jeopardy. There are many who are beginning to blame upon Democracy the indecision and incompetence with which we have conducted our affairs. There is the danger that, unless their faith in our free institutions is restored, our people may one day, in the face of some sudden emergency, be tempted to seek in Dictatorship the efficiency and the leadership they have failed to find under a system of free parliamentary government.

This lamentable state of affairs is in great measure due to errors and omissions in recent years for which history must be left to assess the

responsibility. Suffice it to say that the weakness of our present position is not due to any want of resources, whether moral or material. In finance, industry and natural wealth, the British Empire is unrivalled in the world. As for our political faith, Freedom, it is immeasurably greater and more inspiring than any authoritarian doctrine which may be raised up against it.

Almost at any time would it have been easier to repair the position than it is to-day. We have left it very late and the difficulties with which we are faced, so unnecessarily, are indeed formidable. Nevertheless, late as it is, there is still just time to restore to our country and to all those other countries who look to us for leadership, the strength, honour and independence, without which we and they and the democratic idea for which we stand cannot in the long run survive.

The deterioration in our position is in the main due to our unwillingness to face and tackle difficulties when they first arose. In recent years prominent political leaders in all parties have shown themselves afraid to tell the nation of the gravity of the situation and have hesitated to appeal for the service and sacrifice which that situation demanded. The public has been blamed for its complacency, whilst those who have tried to warn it have been characterised as alarmists and warmongers. The fault lies not with the public but with those who have concealed from it the realities and dangers of our position. The democratic system is based upon the conviction that the people, if consulted on a clear issue, can be relied upon to reach a right decision. It can, however, only work if the people are told the plain facts and the whole truth.

In common with other countries, we have failed to give our fullest support to the rule of law between nations when it has been assailed. Acts of naked force have been committed. In every case the aggressor has been allowed to be successful and in every case the victim has been left to his fate.

In our diplomacy we have failed to recognise that the cause of democracy throughout the world is Britain's cause also. All our efforts are being devoted to placating the dictators rather than to strengthening the bonds which unite us to other democratic peoples, who like ourselves want nothing more than to be allowed to live honourably and peaceably with their neighbours. Certain Great Powers have been relentlessly building up vast armaments with the purpose of replacing the law of nations by the rule of force. At an earlier stage, Great Britain, who was

then immeasurably stronger than any of the totalitarian states, could, with the co-operation of France, have insisted upon a real measure of all-round disarmament accompanied by the redress of genuine grievances. Alternatively, if efforts for disarmament failed and an arms race became inevitable, she could at least have maintained the extensive lead which she already possessed. Instead, when the disarmament conference broke down, we stood by and watched whilst Germany first caught us up and then outstripped us with her vast new army and air force.

Moreover, the increases in our armaments which we have eventually made have failed to redress the balance, for the reason that they have always been too small and too late.

Re-establishment of Rule of Law

If we believe in freedom at home we must also believe in freedom abroad and in the relations between nations. Britain's duty and also Britain's interest is on the side of freedom whenever and wherever it is threatened. That does not mean "fighting other peoples' wars." What it does mean is that we have no right to be impartial as between the victim and the aggressor, the peacemaker and the lawbreaker, the oppressor and the oppressed. Whether we are willing and able to afford active assistance, one thing is clear. When the cause of freedom and justice is assailed, Britain cannot be indifferent.

Whatever our political predilections may be, we are no longer free to choose our foreign policy. It is being chosen for us by the stern and compelling pressure of events.

We must hasten to build up our armed strength by every means in our power. But let us not imagine that, however intensely we rearm, we can hope to find safety in isolation. Nor can we by any policy of unilateral concessions do more than prolong the period of tension, accumulating for ourselves, each time we shirk the issue, greater and yet greater dangers for the future.

We cannot stand by and watch one country after another devoured by the Nazi-Fascist powers. We cannot, as though mesmerised, just wait for our turn to come. Unless we act together and act now, the forces of aggression may become so swollen and our surviving friends so few that the prospect of successful resistance will altogether disappear. There is still just time. To-day, the forces on the side of peace and order, if only they are united, are still much stronger than those arrayed against them.

The only road to security lies in combining our strength with that of the other peace-loving nations who are placed in the same perilous predicament as ourselves.

The wars in China and Spain are evidence of the anarchic state into which the world is being allowed to drift. Together with the tragic stories of Manchuria, Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia, they surely afford convincing proof, if proof should be required, that unless and until a resolute and concerted effort is made to restore the principle of good faith between nations and respect for international undertakings there can be small hope of maintaining either peace or freedom.

Peace and freedom are, moreover, a single cause. Peace without freedom is precarious and freedom without peace almost impossible. Freedom is the surest foundation for peace. Modern war cannot be successfully waged without the consent of the people and the peoples of all nations are by nature averse to war. They will only readily fight if they are persuaded that their country or a cause which they value equally dearly is in danger. But how much easier it is to persuade them of this under a totalitarian regime with a government-controlled press than in a free country in which both sides of the case are fairly stated.

The wider the area of the world which is governed under Democracy the greater are the prospects of peace.

Needs of Defence

It is of course not enough to pursue the right foreign policy. We must also have the means to make that policy effective. The success of any system of collective defence depends upon the strength of each of the component nations. If we are to regain the security which we have lost, unprecedented efforts in every field of national defence will be required. All sections of the community will have to make sacrifices and to render service. Nothing short of the planning and organisation of the nation's entire resources of industry and man-power will be sufficient. Apart from the training of men and women for the military and civilian defence services, the whole activity of industry will have to accept a considerable measure of governmental direction.

This will inevitably involve departures from the customs and habits which have grown up and become established in more normal times. Moreover, if the necessary action is to be taken swiftly and smoothly and if the efforts and sacrifices which are going to be made are to

produce the greatest and quickest results, they must be founded upon the common assent and goodwill of a united nation.

A Truly National Government

This essential unity can only be created by the formation on the broadest basis of a truly representative national government, whose personnel and whose policy enjoy the support and confidence of the overwhelming majority of the nation. There exists already throughout the country such a wide measure of agreement upon the general lines which British policy should follow in the present emergency that no party can any longer be justified in refusing to take its share in the direct responsibilities of government.

The three political parties have already, in principle, declared their readiness to co-operate with one another. The Labour Party, whilst refusing to make an exclusive alliance with the Liberals, has nevertheless hinted that it would be prepared to consider a political combination of a wider character in which the Conservative Party would take its share. In these circumstances, it would be reasonable to expect that the Trades Union Movement, whose goodwill would be essential, would show the same sense of responsibility and patriotism which has regularly inspired its actions in periods of national danger. The Liberal Party have, in their turn, recently declared their willingness to unite their efforts with those of others, irrespective of party. As for the present Government, it has ever since its formation appealed for the support of all parties, and could not, even if it so wished, refuse offers of co-operation in the present emergency.

If last autumn there had in fact been war, a national government on the very broadest basis would certainly have been formed. At Munich we may have purchased a respite. But the dangers are still with us, the state of emergency still continues and the need for a government capable of uniting the nation is as great to-day as if we were actually at war.

Our Tradition of Freedom

But even the ideal government pursuing the ideal policy will fail to rally the nation unless it can make a spiritual appeal to the highest qualities in the individual citizen.

Our actions, both at home and abroad, if they are to be understood and to command respect, must be founded upon a moral basis. There is

no need to look far for Britain's guiding principle. It is the love of freedom and all that freedom implies.

Freedom has always been the inspiration of our country and the source of its greatness. When we have abandoned freedom we have always been weak. When we have championed its cause we have always been strong.

The vigour and resolution, without which we shall continue to live in perpetual fear of war, can be regained in one way and in one way only.

We must reaffirm our faith in freedom and reassert our will to live as a free people in a free world.

BRITISH DOG-LOVERS

A correspondent sends me the following statistics. Every year 3,000,000 dog licences are taken out in the United Kingdom. This means that of the 45,000,000 men, women, children and infants, every fifteenth person possesses a dog; and, since the direct and indirect cost of maintaining a dog is something over £8 per annum, our dogs cost us about £25,000,000 a year. Now £25,000,000 a year would pay the interest and sinking fund on £500,000,000, and this sum would be sufficient to rebuild all the slums that are scheduled to be cleared. I suppose I ought to be impressed by this portentous wastage of our national income. But like most people in this country I suspect statistics and like dogs.—*"New Statesman," London.*

IT HAD TO COME

A special corner by dogs for dogs will be included in "Calling All Dogs," which the B.B.C. are putting on next Sunday in honour of "Eve of Dog-Licence-Day."

This part of the broadcast will come from New Pond Kennels, Worplesdon, where Mr. R. M. Montgomery is selecting several distinct breeds. The idea is to determine whether dog listeners will respond more readily to the voice of dogs of their own breed than that of other dogs.

The view at Broadcasting House is that, although dogs do not normally display much interest in the loud-speaker, they will if special material is broadcast for them.—*"News Chronicle," London.*

HITLER WINS

A prominent Catholic periodical, *Queen's Work,* recently published the results of a poll of its readers on world figures whom they would nominate as "most unpopular." Fittingly enough, Hitler won, and the combined votes of the other nine nominees were only one-fourth of Der Führer's elegant total. Stalin was second; Mrs. Roosevelt and Earl Browder were tied for third place; and Franco and Mussolini found themselves regarded as equally unpopular by the Catholics. Others who didn't rate with the readers of *Queen's Work* were Mae West and the famed baiter of Communists and Catholics, Judge Rutherford.—*"New Masses," New York.*

AGRICULTURE AND WAR
The Menace of Decline

by CAPTAIN W. A. POWELL

NOTHING was more conclusively demonstrated by the Great War than the deadly peril to which we are exposed by our almost complete dependence on imported food supplies. Our danger, however, is much greater now than it was then because the risks of an aerial blockade have now been added to those of the sea. Some people, it is true, make light of this danger, but their cheerful view of it is by no means shared by instructed opinion, which holds that bombardment of our shipping from the air would be our very gravest danger in any future war with a near neighbour. In our last war, be it remembered, we came within an ace of being starved out; but for every merchantman then sunk by a submarine two or three may, in the next war, be destroyed by aircraft. Yet, in spite of these alarming facts, we find the Prime Minister saying: "The idea that we can be starved out in war seems to me entirely fallacious," and actually pouring cold water on the suggestion that we should grow more food and so make our country as far as possible self-supporting—announcements which, in spite of some reassuring statements subsequently issued, have aroused the gravest misgivings among those who understand the real necessities of the case.

A specially disturbing factor in the case is that the present Government's agricultural policy appears to be inspired by an altogether disproportionate regard for the interests of the overseas food-producing trusts at the expense alike of our own agriculturists and of the sound principles of national defence. It is true, of course, that, as the question at issue concerns all parts of the Empire, a wise policy will consider the legitimate interests of all the parties involved when propounding a solution; but that is clearly no reason why the just claims of our own agriculturists should be treated as of less account than those of overseas producers.

Growth of Suburban Population

My concern here, however, is not so much with the details of the Government's agricultural policy as with the wider question of the consequences to agriculture of the increasing urbanisation of our population, attested by official statistics.

From these statistics it appears that, though the average decennial rate of increase of the population of London is 7.7% as compared with 5.8% for the whole of Britain, the average rate in areas adjoining London —Hendon, Ilford, Dorking, Mitcham, for example—is no less than 40%, while a similar increase is occurring in the neighbourhoods of Liverpool, Manchester and other urban centres, and the number of persons employed in agricultural occupations has declined since 1921, from 869,183 to 640,603.

These figures clearly disprove the Prime Minister's contention that, in this country, town and country are interdependent, but support Mr. Lloyd George's view that our young men are "fleeing from the land as though from the plague"; and they can be supplemented by further figures showing that the annual value of our importation of agricultural products has increased, during the present century, from £190,192,457 to £262,119,540.

Reductio ad Absurdum

As a footnote to these figures may be noted the almost unbelievable fact that a Dorset and Hampshire potato grower—Mr. A. E. Browning—was recently fined £360 by the Potato Marketing Board for *growing too many potatoes* upon a semi-derelict farm which he had brought into full cultivation! A Scottish farmer was similarly fined for selling potatoes weighing more than a pound each.

The Board of Trade Official Returns show that the value of potatoes imported to the British Isles in recent years was as follows:—

1934 £2,091,052; 1935 £2,778,933; 1936 £3, 082, 600.

Thus, while the British public is sending three millions sterling per annum to bank accounts overseas for its potatoes, while it is called upon to support on the dole an army of 1,778,800 unemployed, while huge areas of England are semi-derelict and much of it wholly derelict, the heavy fine of £5 per acre was inflicted on a native farmer for growing 72 excess acres of potatoes! Such is the bewildering state of affairs, by comparison with which the wildest imaginings of *Alice in Wonderland* might seem tame and matter of fact, at which we have now arrived! Further evidence of the Government's cynical disregard for individual enterprise and its willingness to penalise, if not indeed to exterminate,

both the small producer and retailer was provided in its Milk Industry Bill.

How has this sagging of our agricultural vitality come about? It is due, it seems to me, partly to the failure of successive administrations to take the necessary measures to secure rural industry an adequate economic return, and partly to the lure of the towns with their increasing provision of facilities for recreation which the masses cannot obtain in the country—the multitudinous cinemas, and the numerous dog-racing tracks, ice-rinks, dance-halls and night-clubs which exercise a "pull" easy to understand and hard to counteract, but of constantly augmented influence.

Nor is it solely on economic grounds that this tendency is to be deplored. It has other consequences which are equally serious. It is affecting the physique of the nation and, consequently, causing a detioration of the quality of the man-power available for national defence, and necessitating a substantial modification of the standards of height, chest measurement, etc., which the Army applies to recruits, and that despite the fact that the stature of the race as a whole has increased since medieval times.

Land Lost to Agriculture

Another serious factor in the case is the large and increasing acreage which is no longer available for agricultural purposes because it is being put to other uses. The number of golf links, for instance, has increased, since 1888, from 12 to 1,900, with the result that about 275 square miles in Great Britain are now devoted to that pastime, while our 91 race-courses cover about 25 square miles, to say nothing of the extensive areas used for training gallops, studs, etc. Our burial grounds, too, in the vicinity of our large cities, cover an enormous area—3,022 acres in London, 554 acres in Birmingham, 667 acres in Liverpool, etc.—and though most of them are not so situated that they could very well be converted into cornfields, it is clear that, if they were used for essential urban purposes, an equal amount of land would be made available elsewhere and the steadily increasing encroachment of bricks and mortar on farming land on the fringes of urban districts would be *pro tanto* diminished.

Moreover much farming land is lying derelict. A cursory enquiry which I lately made among estate agents in two counties disclosed the lamentable fact that many entire farms and pieces of farmland have gone

out of cultivation, the largest being a farm of between three and four thousand acres at Barton Stacey, Hants. This land has been derelict for some 20 years; and though the institution of a similar enquiry throughout the country would be too laborious a task for me to undertake, I have no doubt that, if administrative conditions are such that these things happen in such fertile counties as Berkshire and Hampshire, similar or worse conditions obtain elsewhere.

Nor is that all the cultivable land which is not being cultivated. We have thousands of acres of timber which, owing to the haphazard lay-out, is of little or no value to agriculture, and which ought to be redistributed in such a way that they might better preserve moisture, check soil erosion and provide the necessary windbreaks for crops and cattle. We have a vast area of farmland and parkland only in partial cultivation or partly grazed. And these are very grave matters in view of the increasing areas which it is becoming absolutely necessary to allocate to military purposes. Already our 248 civil and military aerodromes occupy the total area of about 115 square miles of prime agricultural land; and when to this is added the huge total area of the Army Reservations, 450 square miles—a figure which takes no account of the smaller Reservations and Reservations leased to the War Office—one sees how grave are the consequences of the Government's Big Business policy of reaping where it has not sown instead of developing our native agricultural resources. For if we are determined to maintain our lavish recreational facilities, to preserve extensive Municipal and National parks, to continue to grant to every corpse a private plot of land, and to deny holdings to the unemployed, and if, further, we are determined, in preparing for the second round of Armageddon, to devote an ever increasing proportion of the total area at our disposal to military purposes, it is obviously of crucial importance that every rod of land not so requisitioned should be cultivated as intensively as possible.

The Next War

Commerce raiding brought us within an ace of starvation in our last war. In our next war it is sure to be prosecuted on a much larger scale as an alternative to fleet action. Spain has lately furnished the evidence that merchantmen are very vulnerable to attack from the air, and it is, therefore, probable that the air weapon will soon completely outstrip the submarine as a commerce destroyer.

Peace, as every one of us can see, now cuts a sorry figure and confronts the world as a mere skeleton in armour. Every nation is affronting and alarming its neighbour by its accumulation of armaments on which, as Viscount Cecil lately pointed out, nearly £3,000,000,000 a year is being spent, though each nation in turn declares that its contribution to the fuel has no purpose except that of self-preservation and ought to be regarded as a pledge and guarantee of peace. But war remains a contingency to be reckoned with, and Britain's most vital munition of war is unquestionably an ample supply of food.

Meanwhile it is to be noted that mechanised industry and the conscription and urbanisation of labour are phenomena by no means confined to Great Britain but, operating abroad as well as at home, have resulted in a similar system of mass production of food stuffs in "the wide open spaces" of the world overseas. The two phenomena, indeed, are complementary evils which can easily be seen to constitute a mortal menace to the enterprise alike of the rural land-owner and of the industrialist in a small way of business.

Imports of Foodstuffs

From innumerable centres, both within and without the Empire, mass-produced frozen carcases, wheat, fruits, vegetables, coffee, dairy produce and countless other foodstuffs, some of them canned and others nominally fresh, are discharged, like salvoes of artillery, at this and other European countries from overseas, in order to serve the requirements not only of the large towns but also villages and households situated in the very heart of the English countryside. For what village grocery or general store is not nowadays resplendent with imported canned produce of every sort and kind?

Our tariffs, no doubt, are helpful as far as they go; but their breastworks afford the rural worker only a partial and precarious shelter from the danger of complete extinction, and the Mercantile Trusts, manned as they are with regimented labour, return the fire, over other tariff redoubts, with machinery, motor cars, cutlery, boots, armaments and an enormous quantity of other mass-produced merchandise, with the result —inevitable in the circumstances—that our yeomen, small farmers and village craftsmen—our masons, millers, cabinet-makers, weavers, shoemakers, wheelwrights and so forth—formerly men of substance and standing, and both spiritually and politically the backbone of the race,

have been driven out of business or reduced to indigence, with the result that the country has lost beyond hope of recovery or restoration, and with incalculable consequences to the future welfare of the race, all the variety and vigour of its rural industries. It is with us, in short, as with the deserted village of which Goldsmith wrote:—

> Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied.

Truly it is a mad world in which, in spite of so many warnings and such clamour from the victims, our Government allows such things to happen.

UNCLE SAM
IN GOOD HANDS

Diagnosis:
"Armament-fever."

"Klac'deradatsch"
Berlin

SWISS NEUTRALITY
Precautions Against Neighbours

by "IGNIS"

SWISS neutrality is a necessity for the balance of power in Europe—as long as this ambitious aim is still maintained by the Great Powers of Europe.

It is a vital necessity, not because it is a tradition, not because it helps hotel-keepers, not because it is nice to find a country on the continent where everybody is allowed to thank God for their blessings instead of a leader of some sort or the other.

Swiss neutrality is necessary because this small State watches over a great many of the most important Alpine passes. The old saying is—who holds the Veltlin, holds Lombardy; and who holds Lombardy, holds Italy. And there are many other important communications. There is the St. Bernhard, connecting the Rhone Valley with the Val d'Aosta, there is the Simplon, leading from Brig to Domodossola. Both are direct ways either into France or into Italy. Not to mention Germany. You can go direct from Brig or from any other sector of the Rhone Valley to Geneva, to the French frontier. You can threaten the flank of anybody going this way a little more northward. You can do a lot of things—if you possess this part of the Alps.

Then there are those famous and glittering lakes, the Lago Maggiore, Lago di Lugano, and Lago di Como, connected with the frosty north by many passes and ways. Whoever would think of using them for letting through armies instead of globe-trotters?

Possible Invaders

The Swiss General Staff has, of course, to think of the possibility that one day a powerful invader may march through their territory. We read in certain papers that extremely dangerous expression "the *right* to march through." What is this "right"? It is the "right" to cross the territory of a neutral state if and when it is to one's own advantage. And when might it be advantageous to anybody to march through Switzerland? If France should think of attacking Germany or Germany should think of attacking France. The Swiss are afraid only of one of these possibilities. Students of post-war history to the fore—which is it?

Yes, an army which passed through Switzerland could avoid the

fortifications known as the Maginot Line. Up to now the French General Staff have thought it advisable to leave the Franco-Swiss frontier undefended. I heard the opinion expressed in Switzerland that the French government *wanted* the aggressor army to pass through Switzerland—because that would bring in the whole world on the side of France.

However, times have changed, and the French are now thinking of extending their Maginot Line from the North right down to the Mediterranean—that is to say, they are thinking of closing the gap—and have presumably already started work.

So that would make an attack on Switzerland useless. But would it? To a certain extent only. It is clear, I think, that any army marching through Switzerland would have the chance of turning the flank of the present Maginot Line, and simply passing it by. Also, even a closed Maginot Line could be attacked via Switzerland with more chance of success than from the Rhine alone; Switzerland stretches deep into France, and the defence line would be much longer this way than merely in the Rhineland.

The same holds true, of course, should France think of attacking Germany. She could go a long way through Switzerland and right into Austria, for example, if she should choose to do so.

Switzerland the Key

Whoever is the master of Switzerland is the predominant force in Europe. That, and that alone, brought the statesmen of Europe to think of preserving and securing the integrity of this little state in the heart of the continent. That was finally recognised in 1815, at the famous dancing Congress of Vienna, the first "Versailles." Even then the great Powers of Europe and the leading statesmen of all countries sat down together and tried to establish lasting peace. They failed. But the integrity of Switzerland was maintained through all the catastrophes which shook Europe during the more than one hundred and twenty years since its final establishment.

The neutrality of Switzerland has been recognised by all her neighbours. It has been firmly and solemnly reaffirmed during the last few years, especially on each occasion that one statesman or another was breaking his oath. He thought the time had come to reassure the others, that they mustn't be frightened, that he did not mean it, and that he was really only preserving and, so to speak, improving peace.

The Swiss have been watchful onlookers. Apparently, though grateful for these assurances, they have made up their minds to do something to establish their neutrality more firmly, on the basis of their own strength.

Strength of Switzerland

It is a difficult task to make it clear to doubting souls that even a small country can be strong. We have experienced sad examples of small countries being thrown to the wolves. All these small countries were told over and over again that they could rely on help from outside; that they must not give way to threats, under any circumstances; help was ready. And afterwards—but everyone knows what happened afterwards.

The Swiss are in a different position. First, they are not directly threatened by anybody. And secondly, if there is a *de facto* threat from any side—they know what it is going to be.

Neutrality cannot be maintained by goodwill alone. It cannot be maintained by armed force either. It can only be preserved with both, good will on the part of everybody—together with the forces to remind anybody who might forget that it is a neutral territory, that the "right to march through" must lapse on the frontier of Switzerland.

That is the position. And there lie the problems. For there are problems for such a little country, with scanty natural resources, not too large a population (4,150,000), and no access to the sea. Of course, there are the mountains. They offer protection against military attack. They put a formidable obstacle in the way of aeroplanes. They are comparatively easy to defend.

There is another advantage. Switzerland has got only four cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and only one (Zürich) with more than a quarter of a million. That is an asset if one thinks of air attacks. Only 16.1 per cent of the population live in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants, as compared with 39.2 per cent in England and 30.2 per cent in Germany.

But Switzerland has 1,131 miles of frontier to defend, of which 424 miles face Signor Mussolini and 320 miles Herr Hitler.

Signor Mussolini is now building a new air ferry (or cable way) to the top of the Theodul Pass (11,000 feet high) thus making it possible to pass the mountain chain between the Monte Rosa and the Matterhorn. That is very nice for tourists. But it is equally convenient for soldiers. It

enables anybody to pass down from the mountains to the Rhone valley, avoiding, for example, the fortifications of the Simplon block, and making it impossible for the Swiss to blow up the great tunnel and so prevent an approaching enemy from marching right down to Brig.

Swiss Defence

The Swiss are clever and responsible enough to leave as little as possible to chance and not very much more to promises. Let us turn our eyes to the measures they are taking at this moment.

They have a militia system, under which everybody who is able to carry a gun has to join the colours for three months; that is one month more than a few years ago.

After the young man has passed his three months' military training he takes his uniform and his rifle home and keeps them there. Every year he has to undergo a short training course.

The Swiss have some aeroplanes and have also spent quite a lot of money on arms. But they feel they have not done enough. True, they do not need mechanised forces as much as other countries: they have their mountains. But they have also got plains, and so they have acquired some tanks and armoured cars.

What they need most at the moment is, first, aeroplanes, secondly, guns and ammunition and, thirdly, men, men, men. While Herr Duttweiler, one of the leading Swiss political figures, with a Churchillian touch, proposes building up an air force of 1,000 planes, the spirit of compromise seems to tend towards some 500. Even this would mean at least double the present strength. Some orders have already gone to German aircraft factories, and it is said that the planes ordered there and to be delivered shortly are to have 1,100 h.p. engines, a speed of 334 m.p.h., and can reach 15,000 feet in 5 minutes.

Anti-aircraft batteries are an important factor for the protection of Switzerland's extensive industries. It is hoped soon to have 100 batteries, comprising 400 guns. Did I say hoped? It is *hoped* to have ten times as many.

Communications are to be strengthened, which means that Alpine roads are to be built, railways cut in the rocks—for example a second line parallel to the famous Gotthard line—and tunnels made, as is being done at the moment in Graubünden, the Canton where a kind of Romance language is spoken, and Italian interests are active.

The question of the military personnel has been attacked by the Bundesrat, so that at long last the ancient democratic distrust of military men has been overcome and a centralised military leadership established. Up to now Switzerland has even abstained from the use of the word "General" and had it laid down in her Constitution that only in war time, or at least in time of general mobilisation, should a single man have entire military responsibility. That is now practically changed, and there is a man, who, while not having the name "general," has the power of one. And there is also a chief of staff. His name is Labhardt, and he is said to be an excellent soldier.

Still, even the best general can do little if he has not well-trained soldiers behind him. So there is a plan to raise the training time in the militia schools (which can be compared with the Territorials) from 3 to 6 months, and the yearly training from 12 to 21 days. That is certainly not too much, for modern weapons.

If this new plan can be carried in parliament the Swiss will have some 25,000 men constantly with the colours. They also think of strengthening their specially trained and selected frontier guards to 5,000 men. That would give them 30,000 men in all.

Then, and only then, when the spirit of independence and freedom characteristic of the Swiss is supported by the necessary means and organisation to make it effective, will it stand a chance against the heavy odds of to-day and tomorrow.

During the last crisis the Swiss government thought it wise not to take military precautionary measures, for which it was strongly reproached by leading politicians like Guggenbühl, a Conservative, who found the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* behind him, and by others, including liberals (*"Bund" and "Nationalzeitung"*) and trade-unionists. This shows how deeply rooted in the souls of the Swiss the spirit of independence is.

BIGGER AND BETTER SNEEZES

"In his instruction to architects, that everything is to be big, Herr Hitler seems to be following in the footsteps of his predecessor, ex-Emperor William II.

"It is recorded (R. Zedlitz-Trützschler: *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof.* Stuttgart, 1923, page 174) that, upon a doctor informing the Kaiser that he was suffering from a slight chill, his Majesty rejected the diminutive with the words, "*Bei mir ist alles gross*!"—*Letter to the "Times."*

ITALIAN CLAIMS AND THE AXIS

ITALIAN VIEW

From "Il Giornale d'Italia" 8.1.39

DOES the France of Monsieur Daladier think she has intimidated or can intimidate Fascist Italy? If so we have once again a proof of the absolute incomprehension, amounting to blindness, of France. Fascist Italy, with 45,000,000 souls, is not a country which can be intimidated, least of all by France. Fascist Italy defended its rights and its interests thousands of miles away, in an inclement and unknown territory, while 52 states—led by France—besieged it. . . . She was not afraid, she conquered, she founded her empire on a sacrifice of blood and money, following her historic destiny in conformance with the demands of her democratic, social and spiritual life.

Now once again it is a question of this historic destiny which Italy must follow and will follow at any cost, also because right, that is justice, is on her side. A right which derives from the treaties, from the Great War, conducted and won in common, and from the usurpation of all the colonial compensations.

If France persists in rejecting that which she calls Italian pretension, and a manœuvre of the Rome-Berlin Axis, she only shows once again that she has understood nothing and can understand nothing either about the Rome-Berlin Axis or its policy, its spirit or its method.

HITLER'S INTERVIEW WITH COLONEL BECK

by HENRI DE KERILLIS

From "L'Epoque," Paris, 11.1.39

WE know exactly what Herr Hitler said to M. Beck at Berchtesgaden. Here are almost the exact words he used:—

"On the morrow of Munich you were anxious for the future of Poland, and chiefly because you realised that I had decided to carry out my plan for the liberation of the Ukraine. You tried to bar my route. You altered course towards Moscow. You placed yourself on the side of Budapest by trying to persuade Hungary to occupy Ruthenia and effect a common frontier with Poland. You failed. You failed because to bar the road to German expansion it is no longer sufficient to unite and galvanise the forces of eastern Europe; it is necessary to combine them with those of the West, in other words with France. But France refused to march. France let you down.

"When you made your *rapprochement* with Moscow, M. Bonnet made a face. His friends started a campaign for the denunciation of all the alliances and pacts with the East. You should have understood. You did not even understand when, going still further, French official circles took my side in the Ukrainian affair. There is in Paris a Germanophile press of which M. Bonnet is the conductor. If you had bothered to read it you would have noticed that this press went even further than my demands, that it published articles disclosing a whole lot of reasons justifying my ambitions in the Ukraine. . . . But you persisted in believing in the recovery of France, in a sudden movement of public opinion in your favour and in favour of the traditional French policy. You went to the Riviera, hoping to be invited to Paris by M. Bonnet. But nothing happened. You waited at your telephone in vain. M. Bonnet went off ski-ing.

"So, M. Beck, it is I who have convoked you. And I am charmed to see you, for if M. Bonnet has nothing to say to you I have serious matters to confide. And now that you know that you are abandoned by France I hope you will be willing to listen to my proposals.

"In the first place you should know that after hesitating for several weeks between an early attack on the Ukraine and an early attack on France I have opted for the latter. I have ceded to the arguments of Mussolini, who cannot continue to give me his help unless I promise him a success in the eyes of his public. Moreover, I have decided to adhere to the doctrine of *Mein Kampf;* I have come to the conclusion that it would be dangerous to advance on Russia while leaving England and France the time to prepare behind my back.

"Therefore, I have decided to settle the hash of France immediately. By war? Not if she gives in. Not if she resigns herself to a Mediterranean Munich. I warn you then that the Italian offensive will go ahead immediately after the capture of Barcelona by Franco and that it will be fully supported by Germany. And I warn you equally that I expect

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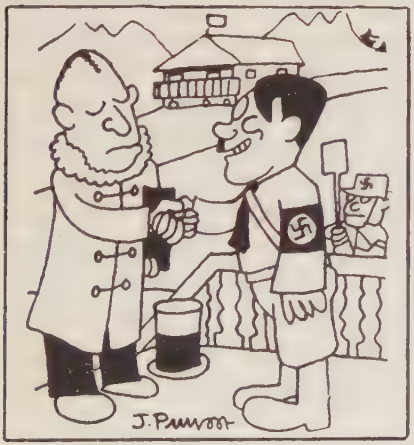
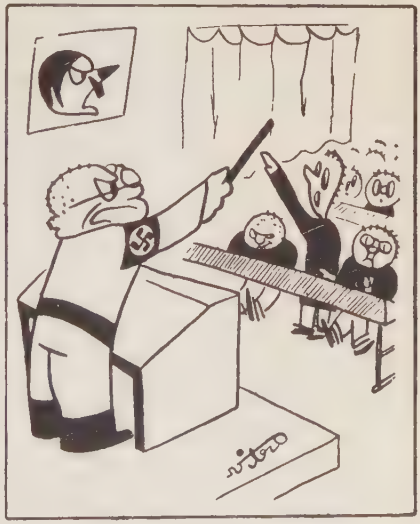


"Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

AT BERCHTESGADEN

"That is agreed, M. Beck: you give me your rights in Danzig, the corridor and Memel, and I give you mine in the moon!"



"Canard Enchainé" *Paris*

GERMAN GEOGRAPHY

"Please, Sir: Palestine: Capital, the Vatican; principal cities, Paris, New York, London, Barcelona, Moscow!"

you to place yourself on the side of Germany and Italy. I do not ask for an immediate reply. I shall leave you time to reflect on the incalculable consequences of your reply which I count on receiving in a fortnight. If it is yes, Poland enters definitely into the friendship of Germany and I give her my word that at the moment when the Ukrainian affair is settled account shall be taken of her attitude and her independence will be safeguarded. She will receive compensation both in Europe and the Colonies. If the answer is no, she will learn what it costs not to have grasped in time where her interest lay and to have failed to learn the lesson of Czechoslovakia."

THE DUCE IN RETREAT?

From "La Dépêche de Toulouse," 15.1.39

This and the following article, appearing after the visit of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax to Rome, indicate degrees of relief at its apparently negative result

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI and Count Ciano seemed to have thought at first that their obstinacy would make an impression on Mr. Chamberlain, who has the reputation of a great pacifist desiring peace at any price. But they found themselves confronted by a statesman who knows that peace depends on agreement between France and Great Britain and who has also been meditating the words of President Roosevelt. To their obstinacy he replied with calm firmness. Mussolini reflected. He saw that the attempt on which he had embarked and which tended to separate France from Great Britain was vain. He reflected that Italy could never engage in conflict with a rich and powerful England without mortal peril to herself. It is not Italy who can afford to trample on the tail of the British Lion. So he changed his tone. . . . He affirmed that Italy had no intention of repudiating her obligations. He went further, he proclaimed his intention of adhering to the terms of the British plan for non-intervention in Spain. . . .

As far as we can judge there has been a retreat by Mussolini. And this retreat has occurred only because France and Great Britain appear to be solidly united to defend the peace.

On the importance of this retreat we will not expatiate. We shall believe in Italian non-intervention in Spain when we have seen its effect. We shall believe in Italian pacifism when it has given definite proof. We

shall believe in the possibility of establishing decent relations with Mussolini when he has stopped hurling mud at us. . . .

In any case, to keep strictly to the facts, one thing is certain: it is that Franco-British accord has played in these circumstances a great and beneficent rôle.

A NEW NOTE

From "Paris Soir," 16.1.39

THE Rome conversations are scarcely finished when a new note can already be detected . . . the article published yesterday by the *Telegrafo,* the journal of Count Ciano, was both unexpected and significant. And by a curious synchronisation the German Press also seems to be of the opinion that direct negotiations should be opened between Italy and France.

Are we to believe that little by little Italy is returning to a policy of prudence? If it is so, France will rejoice. We have made ourselves hoarse repeating that we are ready to come to an understanding with all those who really want to come to an understanding. But the Italians have scarcely mooted a possible discussion when they are already laying down conditions.

The first is that the French Government should refrain from menacing actions. For some time past the Italians have seen threats on every side. Who is to judge the acts of our Government?

The second condition is that the French Press should cease its campaign of insults against Italy (sic). A good joke. "It's that great brute who started it: he hit back when I kicked him."

The third condition is more serious: It is that the war must be finished in Spain. And here we begin to understand. Where is the connection between the war in Spain and Franco-Italian relations? If there is such a connection it should be clearly revealed. Admission should be made of the secret hopes which are nourished, of influence, occupation, or blackmail. It is intolerable that Italy should denounce, as the *Giornale d'Italia* does to-day, the French intervention on the side of the Government when, in fact, the Pyrenees are closed, while Franco has been supplied since the beginning with men and arms without any attempt at concealment.

Conditions of this kind are devilishly like a disguised refusal.

THE CREED OF WORK
National Socialism Demands and Gives

by DR. BERNHARD VAN OTERENDORP

From "Die Braune Wirtschaftspost," Berlin, 19.11.38

IN the game played by political forces ideas remain suspended in a vacuum, if they are not given a material basis. That is to say, if they are not underpinned with power; and power is only created by the labour of brain and hand. The building up of our army, the fortification of our frontiers, and the whole establishment of our industries on a defence basis—all that was only achieved by means of the most intensive, directed work. The position of power thus gained made our foreign political successes possible. We know that they are grudged us, and we must therefore make provision for a time when this grudging feeling may take positive form. The best provision against this day lies in extra work. We must, as General Goering says, always be one nose-length ahead of the others, for then we can be certain that we shall be able to enjoy the fruits of our extra work in peace.

The Right to Work

Only now, at this late hour, are they beginning to realise abroad the immense strength of the Nationalist Socialist motto of "the right to work," for the application of this right is the basis of our power. We spoke of the right to work when we were aiming at the abolition of unemployment, because unemployment is synonymous with powerlessness, and thus with loss of rights. For the National Socialist State, with its emphasis on ethical principles, it was natural that with the abolition of unemployment this *right* to work should become the *duty* to work. This time has now come, and no one can doubt that National Socialism will bring this law of the duty to work into practical application.

But even if every German were to fulfil his duty to work, there would still remain problems to be solved in this field. The last speeches made by Dr. Ley (head of the Labour Front) and by Dr. Funk, Minister of Economics, indicate that a new stage in the history of applied work is beginning, which will immensely increase Germany's economic strength. All Dr. Ley's recent utterances were one single urgent call for a further increase in production from an industry which is already working at high, and in part at full, capacity.

How can this be achieved? No more unemployed fully capable of work are at our disposal to any extent worth mentioning. It is therefore necessary for the existing workers to produce more. All the measures in view can be summed up in one word—rationalisation. Technical improvements in production processes and the strictest economy in working power must set free the forces needed for the additional work to be accomplished.

Measures to Increase Production

The measures intended are, briefly, as follows: shortening of apprenticeship periods, systematic training of the new generation, retraining different types of workers, promotion of gifted workers, responsible, far-reaching advice on careers, removal of superfluous workers in handicrafts and trade, in administration and government offices. These measures call for a planned, thoroughly worked-out control, which at first, no doubt, will be the cause here and there of a good deal of inconvenience and personal sacrifice, but which is, however, necessary on account of the great aim in view. And even to-day we can say that in the long run these measures will prove a blessing to every single one of us.

"Candide" *Paris*

COLONIAL QUESTION: THE WITCH DOCTOR

But even after completion of these measures the hunger for workers will not be satisfied. A comparatively big reserve of labour is provided by increased employment of girls and women. We must not forget that at the outset of our labour battle we were forced to replace a good many women workers by men, in order to give work and wages to the men first of all. These times lie far behind us, and now we must turn back to the women. We are, furthermore, convinced that many previously unoccupied girls and women would be glad to earn money and so raise their standard of living and that of their families.

A further very essential factor in increased production, said Dr. Ley, was the question of working hours. The universal 8-hour day is no blessing to man, and we can imagine that even a 10-hour day would not be regarded as an unbearable burden if the working hours were rightly divided. In this National Socialist State it is unnecessary to emphasise that such an increase of working hours and intensification of labour is to be aimed at without harming the workers' health or enjoyment of life. We have always emphasised—and our whole system of social laws and voluntary social efforts have the same basis—that for National Socialism the human being is the most valuable item on the asset side in every industry.

But, many will ask, is all this really necessary, must these tremendous efforts be made? As we said, the reason is to be found in foreign policy, in the fact that we are engaged in an historic, decisive struggle which is going to settle the question of Germany's world status for centuries to come. . . .

The Need for Raw Materials

The necessity for increased export arises from the need for raw materials for our increased internal production. In order to pay for the goods abroad we need foreign exchange, which can only be secured by exports. But increased production of goods required by other countries demands increased work by German industry.

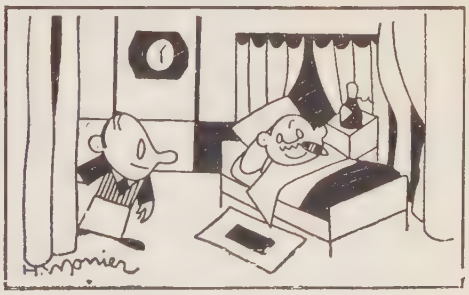
Inevitably we are entering a period of greater prosperity. Germany must and will grow mightier and rich through its diligence. But the benefit of the extra work now demanded is not only to fall to coming generations; the workers to-day are to enjoy the fruits of their labours. The National Socialist Government will be on guard with iron determination to see that the blessings of this extra work do not fall victim to

capitalist greed for profit. Our social laws, the whole work of the Labour Front, and the constant spur applied to the employers all prove that our unalterable goal is to ensure that the worker has his just share in the product. To demand a lot, but to give a lot too, is the Alpha and Omega of our industrial policy, and the German workman has enough healthy instinct and healthy judgment to recognise that the balance sheet is becoming more and more favourable to him. We have removed that despairing element of unemployment, which involved a third of all our workers, and the increase in national income to RM.71,000,000,000 (£3,550,000,000) against only RM.45,000,000,000 (£2,250,000,000) in 1932—of which income from wages and salaries amount to RM.39,000,000,000 (£1,950,000,000), against RM.26,000,000,000 (£1,300,000,000) before the National Socialists came to power—proves that the fruits of our extra work have not remained stuck in coupons and dividends, or in bank vaults, but have spread in broad waves throughout the masses of the people.

Even the most ill-willed must acknowledge to-day that better provision is made for the worker in Germany than in any other country in the world. But the worker can and shall have a still better, roomier and more beautiful home. His habits in eating and drinking, in cultural enjoyment and in his free-time occupations can and will be raised to higher levels.

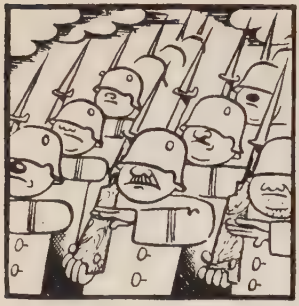
All this will not fall into our laps; it can only be achieved by hard work, by increased work. National Socialism hates complacency. It knows no self-satisfaction, but constantly makes new demands, to bring the happiness of each individual to an ever higher level. Let us congratulate ourselves, in a world of despair and planless, aimless government, in having a State leadership which extracts the last drop out of life.

"May I respectfully remind you, sir, that you are due in an hour at your meeting to 'Get France back to work.'?"

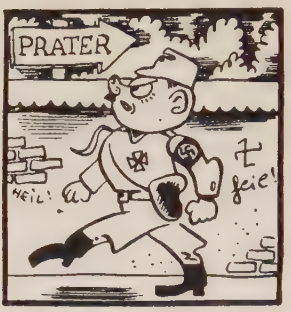


"Le Canar Enchaind," Paris

IF GERMANY HAD WON THE WAR



. . . She would be one immense armed camp!



. . . Austria would no longer be independent!

. . . There would be no League of Nations, representatives of the Great Powers would go hat in hand to Munich!

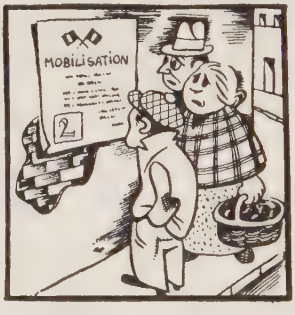
. . . International treaties would be valueless, and Czechoslovakia would be a vassal of the Reich!

. . . They would treat the Jews worse there than in the Middle Ages!

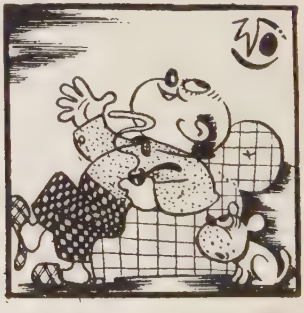
. . . And German intellectuals would go into exile!

Marianne

. . . Her invading armies would be seen everywhere!



. . . And the nations would live under the continual menace of another war!



Paris

. . . But luckily all this is purely imaginary since . . . Germany did not win the war!

THE KEYS OF EMPIRE

by GENERAL PILHO (Vice-President of the Academy of Colonial Science)

From "Le Monde Colonial Illustré," Paris, 1.12.38

WE want peace as much as the "cessionists," but wonder if giving up the colonies *will* ensure peace. That is the real question.

First of all, will the Führer go to war if his former colonies are not handed to him on a silver platter?

He has said and repeated only recently that he will not make war to conquer colonies; and we are willing to believe it, if it is true that his instinct has rarely been at fault so far.

Compare the cases of the Sudetenland and of Africa. In the former Hitler had his armies ready for action, he had to go to the "rescue" of three million Germans whom he was encouraging to revolt against the Czechoslovak government. In this he was not directly menacing France. And if France had wanted to intervene militarily in favour of the Czechs against Germans going to the rescue of their oppressed brothers, she would have seemed like an aggressor against "the right of self-determination." Hitler chose his ground well.

Quite different is his position in Africa. To speak only of Togoland and the Cameroons, there are not a thousand Germans in the two territories and those who do reside there enjoy full equality of rights with the other white colonists and traders. Moreover, he has not proved that those Germans themselves would be entirely delighted if the domination of Hitler were substituted for the liberal and generous guardianship of France.

On so insecure a basis would Hitler dare mobilise his people, plunge Europe into fire and blood, simply to get by force tropical colonies populated by a few millions of those negroes whom he despises and treats as though they were half-monkeys?

Why Hitler Wants Colonies

The truth is that, if the Chancellor wants to regain his former colonies without the use of force, it is because they are indispensable to complete his preparations for a war and will give him nine chances out of ten of winning it. That is the real, the only reason for his demands, my good souls of France and Great Britain! The more we give in to intimidation and blackmail, the more we weaken ourselves materially

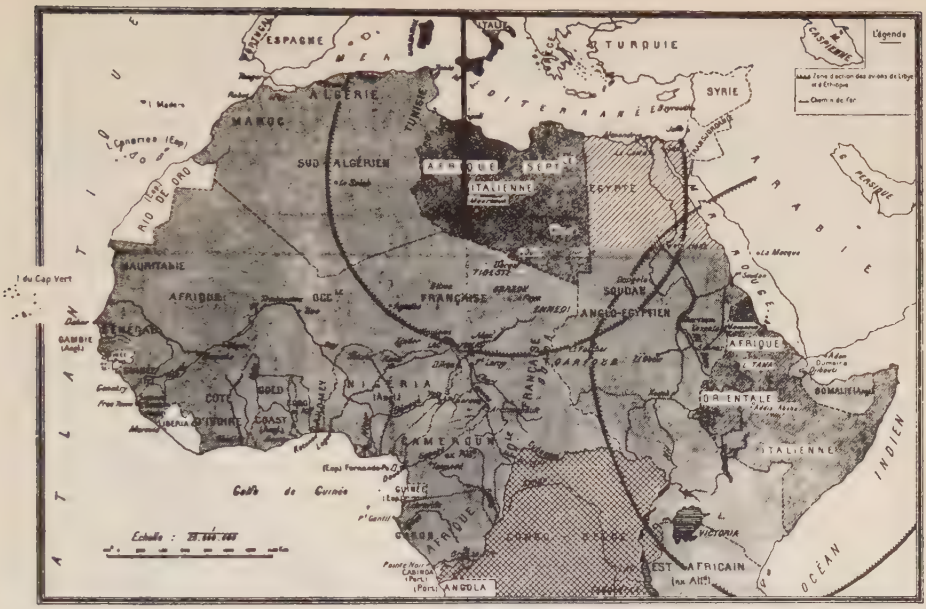
and morally and the more Germany will demand. The cowardly abandonment of the negroes of Togoland and the Cameroons, to speak only for France, would put military, air, political and naval bases at Hitler's disposal which, taken together, would constitute a weapon of such offensive strength against France and England that Hitler and his General Staff could put the odds in his favour in case of war at nine to one. Under such conditions, how much, I ask you, would the non-aggression pacts that he gave us in exchange for these two territories be worth?

Too many Frenchmen ignore the fact that opposite a Greater Germany of 80,000,000 inhabitants there is a Great France with 110,000,000.

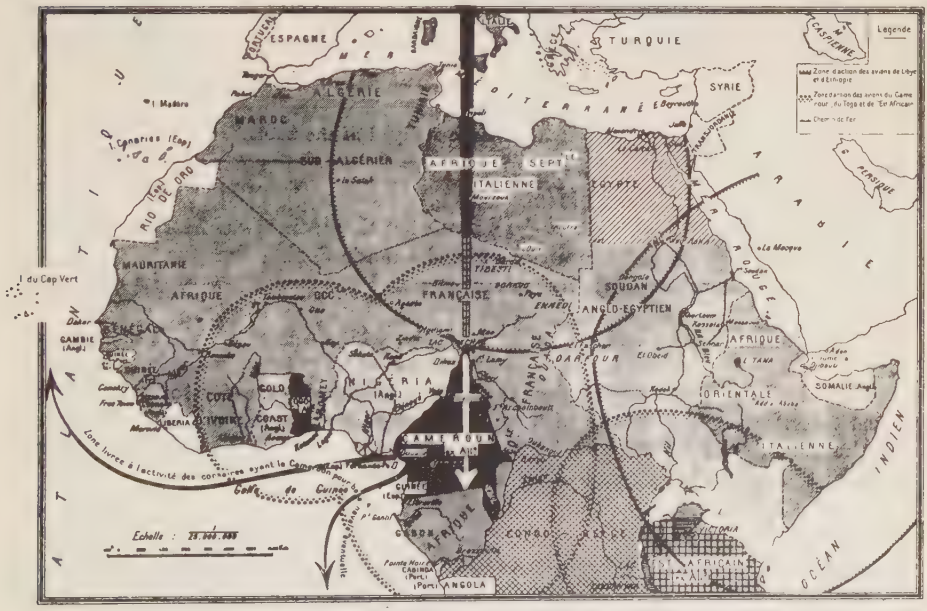
But Chancellor Hitler knows that the sixty-eight million Frenchmen from overseas can only give their full support to the Mother Country in case of war if the maritime routes of the Atlantic remain open, supposing the Mediterranean to be blocked by the naval and air forces of Italy. And the project that he cherishes is precisely to cut off the French forces in Europe from those overseas.

Look at these two maps! One shows French Africa as it is now, well supported by the British and Belgian possessions which stabilise and consolidate it like the buttresses of a great building. Consider the end of the Berlin-Rome axis at the northern boundaries of the Sahara and say if the Franco-British bloc in Africa is not capable of defying all attacks? In case of conflict it would not have to be worried about how to produce all the raw materials necessary for the defence of French territory, how to recruit all the fighters capable of reinforcing that defence along our European frontiers or how to send by way of the free Atlantic all these goods and reinforcements.

But consider the second map. See what the Cameroons and Togoland would represent, supposing they were ceded to Germany, in the flank of our French Africa. Look at the central position of the naval base of Douala, half way between Cape Verde and Cape des Iles and ask yourself if such a present from us to Germany would not be as foolish as it would be criminal? Consider, measure out for yourself all the area that the aeroplanes of the Rome-Berlin axis could bombard between the mouth of the Congo and our Ivory Coast. See, moreover, the facilities that would be offered to the Reich for distributing agents of rebellion throughout our Central Africa as well as British Africa. Imagine the



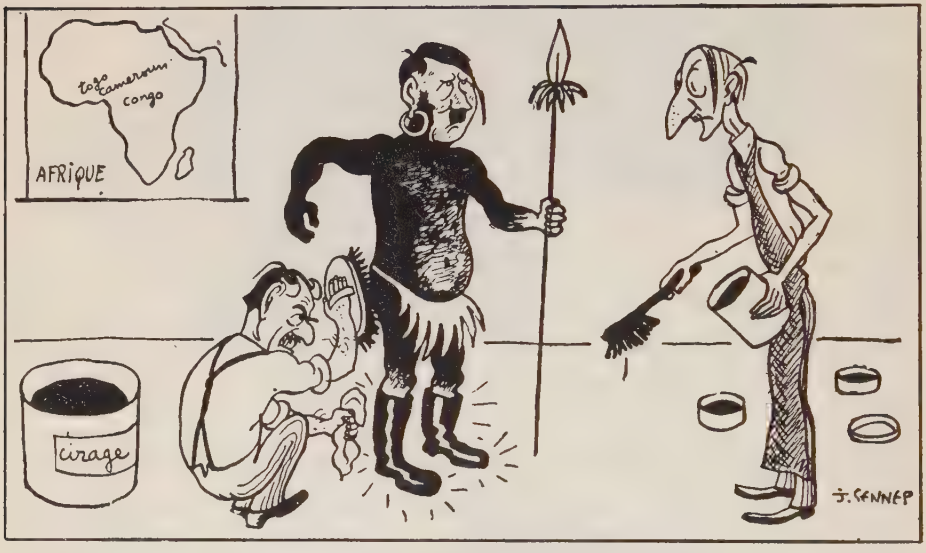
Map I: showing (by arrow) the end of the German-Italian axis, and indicating zones of possible air-attack from Lybia and Ethiopia.



Map II: indicating the situation if the Cameroons and Togoland were ceded to Germany.

number of ships that would be sunk between the Cape of Good Hope and Dakar by German submarines, cruisers, and pirates from the Cameroons.

I beg all Frenchmen to remember President Daladier's recent statement: "If our Empire routes were cut, I would not give much for Alsace and Lorraine."



L'Epogue EXCESS OF ZEAL *Paris*

"Oh, Neville, you might have stopped at the boots!"

ONE SAVAGE TO ANOTHER

The anthropologist, Mr. Bronislaw Malinowski, recently described before the microphone a voyage among cannibals which he made during the war.

"There are thousands of victims of the war in Europe every day," he explained to them.

One of the savages asked: "But how do the whites manage to eat so many at a time?"

When he learnt that the whites, far from using their enemies for gastronomic purposes, contented themselves with carrying them to the cemetery and burying them, he exclaimed: "But what horrible savagery, to kill so many human beings merely for the sake of killing them!"—*"Excelsior," Paris.*

SCOOP

Count Dino Grandi, the Italian Ambassador, who said nothing exclusively to the "Daily Record". . . .—*"Glasgow Daily Record,"* quoted by *"World's Press News."*

RACIAL PROBLEMS

RACE IN THE EMPIRE
The Problem of Equal Rights

by PROFESSOR R. F. ALFRED HOERNLE (Professor of Philosophy at the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa, and delegate to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in Australia)

From "The Austral-Asiatic Bulletin," Melbourne, October-November

PROFESSORS' hobby-horses are theories. Mine is the theory that the British Commonwealth of Nations, considered as the greatest historical experiment in free institutions, has reached a critical point in its development. It has come to the end of one epoch. It is on the threshold of another.

The epoch which has ended has brought us the evolution of original colonies, via the stage of internal self-government, to full nationhood. The members of the Commonwealth are now, as nations, equal in status to the mother-country. Each refuses to be automatically committed to a war in which one or more of the others may become involved. Each most probably will take part; but it will be by the decision of its own Parliament. Compared with the Commonwealth of 1914, this represents a new experiment in liberty.

On the other hand, the central theme of the epoch on which we are entering must be the working out of free institutions for racially heterogeneous populations. In this field we have to face the most difficult experiments of all. We have to find a way of so ordering the relations between different races in the Commonwealth, and especially races within the borders of the same member-state of the Commonwealth, that all races may enjoy the liberty, or rather the "liberties," which are, so it has been said, "the life-blood of the Commonwealth."

Here is the problem as I see it. Ideals of the liberty of the individual citizen and of self-government for the community have, in the past, been treated as the birth-right of white men and women. This limitation of the principle was, so to speak, self-evident where the population of a country is homogeneously white, as in Great Britain and in Ireland. The limitation was, and still is, relatively easy to maintain where the non-whites are, as in Canada and Australia, a relatively small minority,

which, if not actually dying out under the impact of white settlement, is driven into the inhospitable outlying fringes surrounding the settled areas, or else segregated into special "reserves" or "compounds." New Zealand has been exceptionally fortunate in that its non-white minority, the Maori people, has proved itself readily assimilable into the white community even by inter-marriage; and where not so assimilated, has received the franchise in its own constituencies.

The constitutional development of India, which is on the point of achieving full Commonwealth status, shows us free institutions applied to a non-European population, but still on a basis of racial homogeneity, at least in the sense that India's permanent population is not divisible into whites and non-whites. For, the whites in India—in any case forming but an insignificant minority in numbers—do not regard India as their permanent home: they are almost without exception temporary residents. But when, finally, we come to the Union of South Africa, and to other African countries, like Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, which may one day also claim full Commonwealth status, we are confronted in all its gravity by the well-nigh insuperable difficulty of extending free institutions to racially heterogeneous populations.

"Regards" *Paris*

"Hey! You've forgotten your horrid little puppets!"

"Messidor" *Paris*

"Where do you live?" "Nowhere."
"And *you*?" "Opposite him."

In all African countries mentioned, the whites form a permanently resident minority which is determined to maintain its dominance over the non-white majority at all costs, or, at any rate, never to allow itself to be dominated by that majority. Free institutions, in these countries, are the exclusive prerogative of whites; they are not to be shared with non-whites; or, at any rate, not on terms which would give the non-whites control over the whites. So long as the non-whites, the natives, were primitive savages, i.e., so long as there was a culture-difference as well as a race-difference, the principle of "no equality between White and Black" was defensible. But, in proportion as the natives are becoming civilised according to the European pattern, should not the counter-principle of "equal rights for all civilised men" come into operation?

The 'White Australia' Policy

The obstacle, here, remains *race*. Where a sense of race-difference is acute, it over-rides all other considerations. No doubt, the "White Australia" policy, which bars the immigration of Orientals, is publicly defended as resting on economic, not racial, grounds. The plea is that it is meant to protect the Australian standard of living against the competition of the lower standards to which Oriental workers are accustomed. But, suppose the Oriental immigrants did in fact have the same, or even a higher standard, would they then be welcomed? No need to say what the answer of most Australians would be.

However, the White Australia policy deals only with the problem of free migration from one member-state of the Commonwealth to another. Actually, the problem of reconciling free institutions with race differences presents itself in two other forms to which most Australians hardly ever give a thought, viz., the problem of the surviving aborigines and half-breeds, on the one hand, and, on the other, the problem of the natives in the Mandated Territories.

The Union of South Africa has the same three problems, but in each case with a significant difference. The Union, too, has erected a barrier against Indian immigration, but not until so much immigration (in the form of indentured labour) had taken place that there are now 220,000 Indians in the Union, of whom 80 per cent are South African born and bred. None the less, political rights are denied to them. The Union also has a Mandated Territory—South West Africa, which, unlike the Australian Mandates in the Pacific, is contiguous with the Union. More-

over, it has a permanent white population of which one half consists of settlers from the Union, and its natives are kindred to those in the Union. And, thirdly, the Union has an aboriginal native population outnumbering the whites by $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 millions; rapidly becoming civilised; and essential to the economic structure of white society as "cheap labour" in household and on farm, in mine and factory and business; in fact, wherever unskilled manual labour has to be done.

Notwithstanding, however, all differences in detail, the problems of South Africa and Australia are identical, in so far as they all are aspects of the single problem of educating non-European peoples, whom fate has destined to live with, and under, Europeans, to the use of the rights which we sum up in the word "liberty." Nor can we educate them to the use of these rights, unless we are prepared to grant them these rights. In the solution of this problem of extending free institutions to racially heterogeneous peoples, we can all learn from one another. Certainly, the policies with which Australia experiments will have their repercussions in South Africa and *vice versa*. For example, if Australia were to open the door to controlled Indian immigration, India, in the name of equality of status in the Commonwealth, would surely demand a similar concession from South Africa, too.

Again, successful experiments in the government of natives in Mandated Territories may suggest lessons for application elsewhere. The policy, for example, worked out by Sir Hubert Murray in Papua deserves to be carefully studied in Africa. Above all, where whites and non-whites live side by side in the same country and call it "home," there must present itself, in proportion as the non-whites become civilised and integrated into the economic structure, a problem of human engineering which will tax to the full all our resources of goodwill and wise statesmanship. It is the problem of maintaining desired social distances between the different racial groups, without denying to the non-white groups the benefits of liberty which they are bound to demand as part of their assimilation of our civilisation. In their present temper, all white minorities lording it over the non-white majorities in Africa, are determined to deny that demand; not only for the present, but for ever; not only on grounds of immediate expediency, but of eternal principle. If this attitude is persisted in, the result can be only a rigid caste society, in which free institutions remain, as now, the exclusive privilege of the dominant white caste, whilst the non-whites are compelled to remain a disinherited proletariat.

No lover of liberty can contemplate such an outcome with a good conscience.

W. MacNeile Dixon, in *The Human Situation,* puts with reference to the British Empire, these questions: "Is it our duty to defend and maintain this heritage, or to relinquish it? And if we relinquish it, will it pass into cleaner hands, and mankind be better served?" For myself, I have no doubt about the answer. I accept the moral standard assumed in the second question and say without hesitation: We have a duty— and a right—to maintain the Empire, subject to fulfilling the condition of "clean hands" and "service to mankind." British rule is justified by British ideals, provided these are not reserved only for the white peoples of the Empire. And, thus, I return to my opening point. The next great task before us is to make free institutions work in, and between, countries with racially heterogeneous populations.

NO PEACE FOR INDIA
Britain's Brown Millions

by D. F. KARAKA

From "The Aryan Path," Bombay, January, 1939 (*Journal of The Theosophical Society*)

Mr. D. F. Karaka was the first Indian President of the Oxford Union Society and the author of "The Pulse of Oxford"

IT is now some three hundred and fifty years since a small party of enterprising Britons first stepped on the shores of India. With a charter of monopoly from Parliament tucked in their breast-coat pockets they arrived in a little sailing boat that was blown this way. It was an ill wind that blew no one any good.

Time passed and there came into being the East India Company. They were in India essentially for the purposes of trade. They had, we were told, no ulterior motives. Gradually they began to find ways and means of protecting their growing trade, till eventually they got together a little militia of their own, complete with rifle and musket. It was only to protect themselves in an India which was being constantly overrun by hordes of invading troops. Soon they began to protect the Indians from themselves and from this microcosm sprang the greatest Empire since the Romans.

That is the background of the problem of peace between Britain and her brown millions. *No Empire has ever brought peace to its conquered subjects. No Empire can or ever will. The very idea of Empire is repugnant to the idea of peace.* It connotes an inequality of status between those who govern and those who are governed. It leads to the struggle for existence between those who must eventually fight for their independence and those who must oppose it. It necessitates at some time or other that eventual clash of interests between the forces of Imperialism and those who have come within its sway. In such a state there can be no peace. . . .

Pax Britannica

It is not enough that during the many years of British rule in India there have not been on Indian soil the wars that have happened in Europe. It is the unrest and the unhappiness that have come over the people of India that have created the greatest barriers against peace in this part of the world which is my country and my home.

Let us review some comparatively recent events. We go back now to the time when a portrait of Queen Victoria hung in nearly every middle-class Indian home. It was the symbol of our subjection to the Empire. The gracious lady had on some occasions talked about the equality of her subjects and the absence of any distinction of caste, creed or colour between those over whom she claimed to have justly ruled. All this was in the best Victorian tradition. Tennyson had echoed these sentiments in his poetry, and Morley's *Compromise* was perhaps representative of the attitude of mind which prevailed in England at that time.

We were content, because we had known nothing different. As in the Roman Empire we had risen from the status of slaves to that of "freedmen." Freedmen, mark you. Not free men. That was the essential difference. There was with us that background which we could never shake away. We could always get thus far, but no further, unless we were prepared to shake ourselves free from that conception of Empire into which we had been absorbed. As things stood at that time, there was neither the inclination, nor the possibility of doing this and we were, therefore, content to be glorified variations of freedmen, without ever being free. . . .

Time marched on. Everywhere in this world the old order had given place to new. Even in England itself the dogmas and shibboleths

which were treated as Gospel truth in the days of Queen Victoria, now began to be questioned and doubted. . . .

Effect of the War

The Great War in Europe encouraged this new idea. Life was so uncertain that one ceased to live it according to the old standards of morality. One began to be painfully conscious of the fact that dead men were all alike whether they were white or black, Indians or Englishmen, Germans or Jews. There was a levelling process in death—and in so far as the war was the cause of so many deaths, it encouraged this idea of the equality of men.

While such was the English scene, there sprung in the hearts of the Indian people a desire to be equals in the great tribes of mankind. They wanted that no Empire should ever tread them down. They suddenly awoke to a sense of national consciousness . It was due to the rise of Gandhi in the Congress. The authority of the Government began to be questioned and a national movement was launched, which was calculated to overthrow this government carried on in the name of the people of India, but at times detrimental to Indian interests. The so-called peace that this government maintained was by force. All efforts which endangered the stability of the government were crushed in the name of law and order. The ruthless massacre at Amritsar, the crawling order, the various lathi charges, the persecution of the Congress, the suppression of Jathas were all done ostensibly for the sake of the peace of India.

So that when we talk about peace between Britain and her brown millions, we must be clear as to our conception of peace. The fact that commerce and industry were able to carry on, while the flower of Indian manhood was behind bars serving terms of imprisonment for political offences, can hardly be said to have inaugurated an era of peace. Peace that is maintained at the point of the sword is only an armed peace. It is peace under protest—only so long as that sanction which enforces it is maintained. Withdraw that sanction, and chaos will inevitably follow. Britain can give India no other kind of peace.

What is Peace?

We have different ideas as to the peace we want in our country. We want something of the contentment that is the heritage of man. We want to see our countrymen walk with their heads held high, their bodies strong, not bent and stooped. We want to hear something different from

the wailing of those hungry half-naked millions, whose dark bodies sweat in the heat of a tropical sun for a meagre, grim, bare existence. We want to see established a new order of things, a new economic system, which will not make it possible for a handful of foreign capitalists to exploit the natural and the human resources of our country to glorify an Empire to which we belong not by choice but by reason of conquest. We want to hear the laughing of little children, who are now begging in the streets because begging is all they are fit for. We want to see a higher standard of education in our country and a more just distribution of revenue. We want to see the social services developed and fed, before giving exorbitant salaries to Generals and high officers of state. We want, in short, a government that can reasonably claim to be able to work for the people without any let or hindrance from Whitehall or elsewhere.

These are only a few of the conditions precedent to the existence of peace between Britain and India. The history of British rule in India, when told in terms of the slaughter of innocents, the persecution of honest-to-God nationalism, the oppression of the people, is not one which will help the future relationship between these two countries. The past will always stand in the way of peace. The struggle of the Indian people is still too fresh in our minds for us to endorse a Pax Britannica. No two countries could find it more difficult to find a future basis of peace. We can only try.

There is something else that peace implies. It is self-respect. We have seen the demoralisation of a people who have been brought up to believe that they must always remain a subject nation. We have watched the humiliation that our brown millions have suffered at the hands of the white oppression. In spite of the most glib utterances of the late Queen Victoria, we have seen a most ungallant distinction of colour maintained in the very country where to be dark is natural. We have seen how our own people have been treated like lepers in the country of their birth as if it were in the natural course of justice. We have seen—and this is worse—our people acquiesce in the treatment they have received. We have lived, I am ashamed to say, for many years without one ounce of self-respect.

That was the India that we have only just left around the corner. But we have not turned sufficiently round. The shadow of the past can still be seen, as sometimes we turn back to see how far we have moved. All this will still hinder our quest for peace. Even so we go on.

THE NEGRO'S STRUGGLE

by SAMUEL SILLEN

From "New Masses," New York, 6.12.38

THE annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May, 1865, was not a mere victory celebration. One month after Appomatox, the leaders of the Abolition movement were involved in a long and heated debate over their future course. William Lloyd Garrison argued that the society should be dissolved, since its major purpose, emancipation, had been achieved. Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass were more realistic. They won a majority for their proposal that the Abolitionists continue their work until the Negroes were recognised under the Constitution as citizens sharing equal rights with all other citizens of the republic. When President Grant proclaimed the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, five years later, Phillips shouted "*Io! Triumphe!* Our long work is sealed at last." But the Abolitionists, with prophetic insight, were still reluctant to end the existence of the Anti-Slavery Society. They adjourned *sine die.*

The fight of the Abolitionists is not over now, any more than it was in 1865 or 1870. No American who has eyes to see and heart to feel needs to be reminded that our great national disgrace is still with us, in new, brutal, and unofficial form. The evils of share-cropping and tenancy have replaced the evils of formal servitude. Despite the Fifteenth Amendment, four million Negroes of voting age are disfranchised. There are thirteen million Negroes in this country, but there are less than sixty thousand Negro school-teachers. The political, economic, and cultural oppression of the Negro people is the ugliest reality in our national life. This is not new. What is new is the fact that never has the fight for Negro rights assumed such mighty proportions. The realism, courage, and militancy of that fight is set forth in James W. Ford's *The Negro and the Democratic Front.*

Economic Problems

The Negro people are confronted with special economic problems. No single group in our population was so hard hit by the economic crisis. Few people in the North realise that over one-half of the Negro population is engaged in agriculture. What little land the Negro agricultural

worker could call his own is being taken away from him by banks, insurance companies, and large landholders. "The plantation country in the South," as every unprejudiced observer must agree with Ford, "is like a prison, a veritable hell to which five million Negro sharecroppers and tenants have been consigned." The Negro has fared no better in the city. He is doubly exploited under capitalism. Ford reminds us that in 1935 the unemployment of Negro workers was six times as great as that of white workers. The reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labour have discouraged unity of black and white labour. Negroes have suffered from discrimination in relief. Nearly half the Negro population is excluded from the benefits of the Social Security Act, since the act does not provide for agricultural and domestic workers.

The political and social problems are equally glaring. Jim Crowism, lynching, the poll tax and other voting disqualifications, segregation—these terms symbolise bitter and incalculable suffering.

Political Development

Ford's speeches in the 1936 election campaign—which he properly regards as the most crucial since the Civil War—emphasised the truth that new times demand new alignments. After the election, he could document the striking shift of the Negro vote from Republicanism to Roosevelt. This is one of the most significant developments in recent political history. An ever increasing majority of the Negroes recognise that the Republican Party of to-day bears not the faintest resemblance to the party of Lincoln. At the same time, the Southern Negro is learning the difference between Democratic Bourbons like Senator George and progressive Democrats like Roosevelt. The organisation of the Harlem Legislative Conference, which Ford discusses in this book, shows a new understanding of the need for united action, an understanding which Communists like Ford have helped to develop. Among the most interesting sections in this volume are those in which Ford evaluates the National Negro Congress, an organisation thoroughly committed to the improvement of the Negro's economic status and to the democratisation of American life. The movement toward effective unity found further expression in the fight around the Scottsboro and Herndon cases. Unity of Negro and white on an international scale was cemented by the campaigns on such issues as Ethiopia and Spain.

These developments point the way to a practical programme for Negro liberation:

> All democratic issues of the Negro people come to the fore in the democratic front. These are: the fight against discrimination; for full civil rights and citizenship; for the right to vote; the right to sit on juries and hold public office; the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments; the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill; and the defeat of all reactionary forces. These issues necessarily form a programmatic segment of the democratic front.

Ford is convinced that the Communist Party carries on the work of the Abolitionists under the changed conditions of a modern industrial society. The ultimate solution to the Negro question, he feels, is Socialism. In the Soviet Union, "The right to work, to education, to enjoyment, to security is the rule of the Socialist land. The people are building the greatest society in history, in which food and culture exist for everyone; where no oppression of the many by the few, or nationality by nationality, is tolerated." But Ford knows that the immediate issue before his people, and before the American people generally, is not Socialism against capitalism, but democracy against fascism.

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship

A TIMELY BOOK

THE ARAB AWAKENING. By George Antonius. *Hamish Hamilton.* 15*s.*

Reviewed by H. St. J. B. Philby

This book appears in the very nick of time, when, after twenty years of failure to understand the Arab problem in Palestine, the British Government, as a last desperate resort, has decided to invite the co-operation of the neighbouring Arab countries in an attempt to solve it.

It may be too late now to hope for a satisfactory solution and, if the British public and the world in general want to know why, they have only to read this book. Some of its chapters (notably 7, 8, 9, 13, 14 and 16) and all of its appendices should have formed part of the report of Lord Peel's Royal Commission. The earlier chapters, 1 to 6, are of deep interest to the serious student of Arabian affairs, but tend rather to distract attention from what must inevitably be the main preoccupation of the Government and the public. They deserve to be expanded into a separate and fully documented volume on the growth of Arab nationalism before the Great War and, if Mr. Antonius cares to embark on such a task, I would recommend him to pay closer attention to the part played by the Wahhabi movement in its early stages (and, of course, in our own times) than he seems disposed to do. There is a closer connection than he seems to imagine between the independence maintained (almost unimpaired) by Central Arabia and the independence so passionately desired by but still withheld from the Fertile Crescent (or "Rectangle," as he calls it).

The chapters devoted to the War and to affairs in the peninsula thereafter deal but summarily with the subjects discussed, which have been considered more fully by other authorities. They need not therefore detain us. The rest of the book—the chapters above specified and particularly the appendices—is of supreme interest and of the utmost importance to anyone who wants to know what all this wretched Arab business is about. It is high time we knew that much if we want peace in Palestine.

But Mr. Antonius' chapters will make depressing reading for almost everyone who had anything to do with that country during the past twenty years. "Folks in office at the mention fret, and fain would blush—if blush they could—for shame." There is no getting away from the facts, which Mr. Antonius sets forth mercilessly in language almost devoid of any controversial note. If anything he goes too far in softening impeachments implicit in the facts stated. For instance, he says, "Save for the Americans who . . . remained platonic,

it is true to say that the British were the only friends the Arabs had at Versailles." In another vital passage, he states: "The Arab charge that there was throughout a conscious fraud perpetrated by an omniscient and deliberate British Government cannot be sustained: it does not take into account the element of ill-formed and haphazard decision which creeps into the shaping of policy, especially in war-time. . . . This cannot exonerate Mr. Lloyd George's Government from blame, for nothing can excuse—or, for sheer duplicity, surpass—the message . . . about the safeguards of the Balfour Declaration, or that other message . . . sent to him (King Husain) over the Foreign Secretary's signature to bamboozle him into believing that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was a figment of Turco-Bolshevist imagination."

Mr. Antonius tries to be kind but cannot always keep it up, as the above passage shows. And it is when he is trying to be kind that he is least convincing. To Mark Sykes he is certainly overwhelmingly generous, when he says: "One of the most puzzling facts about the (Sykes-Picot) Agreement is that Sir Mark Sykes was a party to it. No one who knew Sykes would think of associating his name with anything approaching stupidity or duplicity." And again (after Mark Sykes' alleged conversion from Zionism): "it is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that, for Jews, Arabs and British alike, to say nothing of the French, his death at that juncture was little short of a calamity." Another recipient of Mr. Antonius' unqualified admiration is the Amir (King) Faisal, on whom the Jews rely for the *ex-post facto* justification of the Balfour Declaration on the ground of the Faisal-Weizmann pact. In fact, the authors or supporters of the two documents mainly responsible for all the Arab grievances of to-day come remarkably well out of the ordeal of Mr. Antonius' scrutiny.

A Survey after Munich

DANUBIAN DESTINY

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By the former Assistant Editor of the *Economist*, who has had exceptional first-hand knowledge of all Central and South-east European countries during the last 13 years, this valuable book assesses without recrimination or criticism the current and prospective changes in a vast area of the Continent, and explains the political, military, racial, and economic problems in Danubia arising out of Munich. It also examines Germany's aims and their probable effects on all Europe.

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It does not sound convincing at all. Mr. Antonius seems almost to be pleading with the defendant (the British Government) instead of haling him before a law-court on the impressive mass of evidence which he has been at such pains to cram into his brief. Space does not admit of further examination of this material. For the first time it has—thanks to Mr. Antonius—become available for public consideration. That should surely be enough to settle the issue which our politicians have tried to obscure with a "smoke-screen" of "sentiment, legend and propaganda," during the past twenty years.

It may be argued that no one could have seen straight in those days of passion and intrigue. Those who think so may be recommended to read the admirably lucid report of the King-Crane commission. America might indeed have saved the world much tribulation by accepting

its recommendations. But what would she have done in Palestine? To that question there can now be no answer. The finger of Fate has moved on.

THE STALEMATE

THROUGH THE FOG OF WAR. By Liddell Hart. *Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by GEORGE MARTELLI

THIS is a depressing and slightly irritating book to read. Captain Hart has applied himself to dissipating what is left of the fog that surrounded the Great War. He believes that the approach of the next conflagration makes is necessary to study the mistakes of the last. Only thus can we avoid repeating our errors. It is said of militarists that they spend their time preparing for the previous campaign, and there is perhaps a danger that Captain Hart, by turning our attention backward instead of forward, may achieve the very result he is anxious to avoid. For instance, he gives several valuable lessons on how not to wage trench warfare. But for all anybody knows we may never again have to do so. So that our future Generals, who have sat at the feet of Captain Hart, may mistakenly apply principles imbibed from their mentor which are no more applicable to the new conditions than those applied by their predecessors were applicable to the old. But that, of course, will not be the fault of Captain Hart.

The author's strategical theory, which is now well known, colours his latest book as it does the others. Starting from what he describes as "Britain's traditional conduct of war" he argues that the war of attrition waged on the western front was a break with tradition and a mistake which nearly proved fatal. Instead of wasting her blood and treasure on the indecisive battlefields of Flanders, Britain should have relied on sea power and monetary aid and reserved her military strength for a decisive blow where the enemy was least expecting it. Thus Kitchener's Army was wrong and the Dardanelles was right.

In this argument there seem to me to be two serious flaws. In the first place is it true that in the past we never used our main force for a frontal attack on the enemy? Two campaigns which were decisive in our history, those of Marlborough and of Wellington in 1815, were both fought to safeguard the Low Country, just as was the campaign of 1914-1918. Were these the exception which proves Captain Hart's rule? In the second place, even if the tradition is as he says, nothing is less certain than that history repeats itself. The author has never explained what would have happened if in compliance with his views we had allowed the Germans to overrun France and occupy the Channel Ports. An outflanking movement through the Balkans or Holland would have been of little use to us then.

The point is especially relevant because of the controversy which is now raging about the size of the force we should send to France if she is attacked again. Captain Hart is the most able advocate of the "no assistance" school and it is unfortunate for the other camp that they have not so gifted a lawyer; all the more so as it seems certain after all the talk that we shall still have to send our quota to France, only improvised, untrained, and ill-equipped, thanks indirectly to the theory so lucidly propounded in this volume.

SAINTS AND SINNERS

NEWS OF THE FRENCH. By Montgomery Belgion. *Faber.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

It is one of the major disadvantages of the present necessary obsession with foreign politics that it is extremely difficult to get anyone to tell us about foreign countries. That is to say, everybody is

willing to talk about the number of aeroplanes that a country possesses, about the necessary raw materials that it lacks, about the causes for which it will fight and the causes for which it will not fight, but very few remain to tell us how ordinary men and women live their normal lives and what are their methods of work and of recreation. Mr. Belgion has a word or two to say about the rôle which France may be expected to play in Europe in the coming years. He quotes a lengthy extract of prophecy from M. Detoeuf, but in general he is concerned with matters much more interesting and much less generally understood. There is a most pertinent and detailed analysis of the position in the Trades Union world and a very illuminating chapter on Alsace. The book went to the press, it seems, in September of last year, and much has happened in French, as in other, history since then. Mr. Belgion's general feeling seems to be that the French obsession with a fear of German invasion is lessening, and the history since he wrote seems to prove him right. For all the latest reports from France seem to agree that there is now much more nervousness in London about German designs than in Paris.

Mr. Belgion clearly has no great admiration for the average French employer. He finds in him an unpleasant desire to dominate—a desire to apply to his workpeople the methods of the father of a family. But, at the same time he is equally critical of the folly of those elements of the Popular Front which were prepared to subordinate the country's foreign policy to the dictates of Moscow. Indeed, while there is in him nothing of the violent denouncer, it must be frankly confessed that the picture which Mr. Belgion paints of the French character is not a very pleasant one. On pages 310-13 there is a particularly damaging analysis in which he argues

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that that character is almost the direct antithesis of the Christian. No one can deny the strength behind his shrewd blows. Of course there is in French life an appalling amount of materialism and petty calculation and that short-sighted selfishness which is not in the long run even selfish, because through lack of the generosity to co-operate all fail of their purpose. Yet at the same time it is only right to reflect that the French peasantry has from time to time the power to throw up souls of a quite shattering spiritual power. Where the peasant characteristics are combined with generosity and selflessness and faith, you get a St. Joan or, in more recent times, a Bernadette, which is something that no other nation can produce, and, so long as she can produce that, France has no need to fear that she shall perish. France, which is perhaps pre-eminently the nation of sinners, is also pre-eminently the nation of saints.

If one may quarrel with a passing point, surely nothing could be more unfair than to leave the reader with the impression that Louis XVIII was in any way responsible for the White Terror of his reign. He fought a most manful fight against the Ultras. And why does Mr. Belgion insist on calling all foreigners "Mr." or "Mrs." is "Mr. Hitler" and "Mr. Poincaré" and "Mrs. Caillaux" is surely too absurd for words. Or, if it is all a somewhat laboured joke, why not go the whole hog and call St. Joan "Miss Arc"?

THE BETRAYAL OF THE PEACE

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PEACE TREATIES. Vol. II. By David Lloyd George. *Gollancz.* 18*s.*

Reviewed by AYLMER VALLANCE

MR. LLOYD GEORGE concludes his history of the post-war treaties by asking himself what verdict on their results would now be passed by his colleagues at the Peace Conference—Clemenceau, Wilson and Orlando—if they were alive to-day. In one particular he has little doubt of the answer. "We should all agree," he writes, "that the Treaties were never given a chance by the miscellaneous and unimpressive array of second-class statesmen who have wasted them for the past fifteen years. We should also all agree that the failure of a great deal of what is best and noblest in the Treaties has been entirely due to the fact that there has been no will-power or sturdy resolution behind their execution and that all the Democratic countries are equally to blame for this exhibition of ineptitude and nervelessness."

The Treaties themselves he vindicates on the grounds that they punished aggression, liberated oppressed nations, paved the way for (and indeed promised) disarmament, and established in the League of Nations a great political instrument of international and social justice. The blame for the bitter harvest of disillusionment, ending in the precarious post-Munich truce between Powers arming to the teeth, he ascribes, first, to the fate of Clemenceau and his replacement by the "rather sinister little" Poincaré, next, to the defection of the United States from the League, and finally, to the failure of the victorious countries to disarm as they had promised, or to secure the minority rights explicit and implicit in the Treaties, or to use the revisionary provisions incorporated in the Covenant. The result was the re-emergence of *Machtpolitik*—in the Nazi movement in Germany, in Manchuria, Abyssinia and Spain. In the face of threats the Democracies retreated and allowed the whole structure of the Treaties to crumble into discredited ruins.

The case which Mr. Lloyd George thus makes is not to be lightly dismissed. But could even his own statesmanship have averted from the world the present clash of irreconcilable ideologies? We are still

far too near the events to be able to judge. In this volume of Memoirs, Mr. Lloyd George shows little sign that he has ever glimpsed the existence of a class war in which the Peace Treaties were a mere incident, or realised the nature of the forces at work to-day in Spain and likely to operate tomorrow in Carpatho-Ukraine. He tends still to see world politics as a board on which the Council of Four drew frontiers, installed favourites in power, backed this side or that. Time has done nothing to modify his prejudices. He never forgave Benes for convincing him against his better judgment that Czechoslovakia was a viable State. He is still unrepentant for the futile part he played in encouraging Greek aspirations in Asia Minor. To him the Lausanne Treaty won by Kemel was and is a "cowardly humiliation"; he would have fought at Chanak and would have won. Unhappily the British people were minded otherwise. Turkey's re-birth was the beginning of the lot.

This is history coloured by personal antipathy. But for students of the Treaties who have learned by this time to disregard the author's idiosyncrasies the two volumes which Mr. Lloyd George has compiled form an essential record of what was said and done.

LENIN THE MAN

LENIN. By Christopher Hollis. *Longmans.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by R. H. S. CROSSMAN

MR. HOLLIS has written a sensible and reasonably objective book. It contains most of the important facts of Lenin's life, and, if it does not enable the common man to understand Lenin, that is not Mr. Hollis' fault. No-one can write a satisfactory biography of Lenin, because, apart from the Russian revolutionary movement, he had no life at all to write about; he is only intelligible on a back-

FOUR MORE

21. BRITISH ROADS
By GEOFFREY BOUMPHREY

The well-known broadcaster and champion of amenities deals with the roads, old, new and forthcoming, in his trenchant, critical and constructuve style. He is partly historical, but for the most part modern and prophetic; he understands present-day needs, looks forward to probable requirements, and has suggestions to make which ought to be fully discussed by all users of the roads; that is, by every one in the country.

25. THE CHANGING VILLAGE
By F. G. THOMAS

The writer has made a special study of the changes that are taking place in village life and organization following on the quick development of road transport, the application of newer methods of farming, and the central organization of agricultural industry. He discusses the closer communication of town and village, with its losses and gains, the impact of urban ideas and intellect on the mentality of the villager, and the drastic effect of town architecture on rural building.

26. WHAT ABOUT SHAKESPEARE?
By D. R. HARDMAN

The author describes Shakespeare and his plays for the ordinary reader who has no "literary" predilections but feels that he ought to know how to regard our greatest dramatist and poet. He therefore avoids literary *cliches*, and the jargon of the lecture-room, while giving all the necessary information and distinguishing the good plays from those which are pedestrian or definitely bad. In spite of numerous introductory books on Shakespeare, this one fulfils a special need.

45. BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY
By MAURICE BRUCE

Here is a panorama of England's traditional foreign policy since the seventeenth century, concluding with our own time, but avoiding the topical as far as possible. It is written in an unacademic and simple but not "journalistic" style. The author is an Oxford and Cambridge Extension Lecturer, and an Associate of the Royal Historical Society.

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ground of Marxist philosophy and action, such as Mr. Hollis does not profess to give.

Nevertheless it is a pity that Mr. Hollis has taken so little trouble to acquaint himself with the principles of Lenin's philosophy. He himself, as a keen Christian, would be indignant with any Communist who wrote a life of St. Paul without first studying the elements of Christian theology. Marxism, as Marx and Lenin understood it, is not simply the doctrine of economic determinism; indeed Marx was largely concerned to confute the mechanical materialists and to argue that the human will to freedom is an essential element in human history. Yet Mr. Hollis throughout his book assumes that Lenin's philosophy was based on the belief that men can only be moved by economic motives! This leads him to a total misunderstanding of Lenin's views on nationalism and religion. Rightly or wrongly Lenin held that man could not be free while nation states and churches dominated his life. His dream of mankind, freed from bondage to political and spiritual authority, may have been utopian but it was not the view of a simple materialist or crude atheist. I hope that this book will go into a second edition and that Mr. Hollis will have an opportunity for revising his references to Marxism which are no better than most Marxist references to Catholic dogma.

For, apart from this general criticism, the book has many good points. It is, very properly, largely based on Lenin's own letters and on such classics as John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World;* and many of Mr. Hollis' observations are very much to the point. Though he overemphasises Lenin's oriental outlook and the part played by Jews in the Bolshevik party, he sees that the World Revolution failed because the methods of the Bolsheviks were too Russian for Western tastes; and he rightly emphasises the fact that Hitler and Mussolini learnt the lesson of Lenin's failure and created a national Bolshevik revolution where the Third International had failed. In such passages Mr. Hollis is on surer ground than in his excursions into philosophical polemics.

AMERICAN VIEW

THIS TERRIBLE PEACE. By Helen P. Kirkpatrick. *Rich and Cowan.* 5*s.*

Reviewed by H. A. St. George Saunders

The authoress of this book is an American journalist living in England and possessed of considerable knowledge of Europe. She has set down—inevitably with some haste, since she could at most have had but some six weeks or two months in which to write her book—the effect of the recent "crisis" on American public opinion. Whether her estimate of that is correct or not, is difficult for a European, especially an Englishman, to judge. But if it be correct—and I have no reason to suppose that it is not—then we in England must be prepared to pay very dearly indeed for such peace and security as the Munich Agreement may or may not have given us.

Miss Kirkpatrick quotes either literally or in paraphrase the views of the American press—the serious press, not the "tabloids"—as expressed immediately before, during and after Munich. This chapter, the first and most important of the book, does not make flattering reading, yet it deserves to be, and I hope it will be, read by a large number of people who have not been lulled into a sense of indefinite and indefinable well-being by the fact that war was averted so narrowly. It appears that a large and very important section of American public opinion is convinced that Britain is decadent and, together with France, has suffered "humiliating and dangerous

diplomatic defeat, calculated to render them (England and France) helpless in the face of future German demands." This section believes that the pact of Munich was a truce with dishonour, that England's action was not only dishonourable but unintelligent, that the truce may provoke and not prevent another war and that Munich shewed the complete breakdown of international law, order and morality. This indictment is severe and when put forward by so obviously and genuinely a believer in Anglo-American co-operation, must give us pause.

It is all very well to say that Americans appear not to realise that in war with Germany we shall get the bombs on our open towns before they will—if ever they do. The fact remains that America has said, through a hundred statesmen, politicians and leader-writers, that she will never be willing to collaborate without principle for the sake of maintaining the British Empire. That principle—democracy, in its widest sense—many Americans believed to exist in concrete form in Czechoslovakia, "a small bit of democratic perfection" in a dictator-ridden Europe. France and Britain refused to fight for it to the dismay of the idealists as opposed to the realists.

Miss Kirkpatrick's main endeavour, she says, has been to demonstrate the incurable idealism of her countrymen. It would be idle to pretend that that idealism has not received a severe shock which has weakened, perhaps very gravely, relations vital to the peace of the world.

SPANISH RIGHT ANGLE

THE SPANISH ARENA. By William Foss and Cecil Gerahty. *Illustrated. Gifford.* 18*s.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

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this book for themselves rather than rely on any reviewer's judgment, as in this case it is more than usually bound to be prejudiced. Superior knowledge must be discounted when the well-informed are at loggerheads over the Spanish issue, for it is clear that their most definite assertions are diametrically opposed to one another, and even personal experience differs. The arguments of both sides are as flatly contradictory as their war-communiqués; though few would deny that the megaphones on the Left are the louder. That is the claim of this fiercely Right-minded book by Mr. Foss and the late Cecil Gerahty: that the pro-Franco voices in our Press and elsewhere have been consistently shouted, not to say howled, down.

Dean Inge, in a public speech, has referred to this phenomenon as a campaign of "systematic organised lying," and he urges "well-meaning people" whose eyes have been successfully blinded by such "mendacious propaganda" to read the "hideous story" of *The Spanish Arena*. Personally we would find two faults with this salutary book, the first full-dress history of the war from an anti-Marxist angle: it makes, we think, the usual partisan mistake of "pitching it too strong" and so runs the risk of appealing only to the already convinced (though certainly that risk seems nowadays quite unavoidable); secondly, more details might well have been given of the false workings of this Red propaganda to which the authors take such natural exception. Still, the authors' slight clumsiness here and there affects the manner rather than the matter of their argument; the book has 500 pages, it deals well with such all-important problems as the land in Spain, and its accounts of military operations are excellent.

At this late date no one is likely to have a mind that is still not made up on the terrible and complicated subject of the Spanish war, but any who may cherish the old-fashioned notion of keeping theirs open, if they feel themselves forcibly "swinging" (at this moment it can only be one way) should read *The Spanish Arena* or, if pressed for time, the Duchess of Atholl's *Searchlight* and Professor Sarolea's *Daylight on Spain.*

CRISIS ALBUM

FOUR DAYS. Edited by Michael Killanin. *Heinemann.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

That lively and charming young journalist, Lord Killanin, has had the excellent idea of producing a collection of articles by leading journalists in the more important capitals on the September crisis. The result is a thrilling and useful book—useful, because while the crisis lasted events moved so quickly that we had very little time to worry about the way in which other countries were taking it; thrilling, because . . . well, you know why.

The contributors are well chosen. Luigi Barzini, of the *Corriere della Sera,* Hubert Ripka, of the *Lidove Noviny* of Prague, Frederick Essary of the *Baltimore Sun,* and J. Wilson Broadbent of the *Daily Mail* are, I think, the best of them, but all are worth reading. And their book is a valuable work of reference.

V. B.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editor welcomes letters from readers, which should be kept as short as possible

A GERMAN PROTEST

Dear Vernon Bartlett,—I have read your article, "A Stand for Liberty," in the January issue, as indeed I do all your leading articles in *World Review*. I would only like to make a few comments on what you say about Germany.

First, a word about your statement that "within the last few weeks more generals, burgomasters and other responsible Germans have been dismissed or arrested." Dear Vernon Bartlett—that is all wrong. Somebody has evidently been intentionally giving you completely incorrect information. December in particular was a relatively quiet month for all Germany, including generals and burgomasters, and everyone enjoyed a particularly pleasant Christmas.

Further, I will not attempt to disarm your suspicion that Germany is out to secure "submarine bases in Spain" and is determined, together with Italy, "to gain control of the Iberian peninsula." I believe that all these "Spanish stories" will die a natural death with Franco's victory and the construction of a new Spain. But, should Spain's relations to Germany then be better than to England you, dear Vernon Bartlett, and your friends of the Opposition will have contributed a great deal to this perhaps not very pleasing development for England. If you will not take it amiss, I would like to make the following general remarks in this connection : anyone who has been as often in England as I have can like and respect much in England, but he is at a loss to understand how it is that English policy in recent years has let slip many chances because it has apparently not sufficient imagination to realise what effect certain acts or omissions must have in the future. But when an English politician has imagination, as, for example, in your case, they often assume falsely that Germany wants to take away England's democracy, freedom of speech and conception of justice, and that England must fight for them in the immediate future. My dear Vernon Bartlett—that, too, is quite certainly wrong. Germany of to-day has found in national socialism the system most suited to itself. But it has not the slightest interest in England's copying it. On the contrary, we believe our system to be superior to every other in this confused and daily changing world, and are glad to leave you yours, even if we on occasion strongly criticise certain dark spots in it by way of answer to criticism of our own affairs.

No—on that account there will certainly be no war. War, in fact, is only thinkable should England oppose Germany in some vital question, as you yourself apparently would have wished in September, in favour of the maintenance of the artificial Czech Nationality State. Believe me, that would have been an irreparable mistake on England's part. Czechoslovakia would have quickly disappeared as an independent State from the map of Europe, the British Empire would have been severely shaken, England would have had to fight for its existence, and to assume the guilt for immeasurable fresh misery in the world. Would that have been in favour of that famous "international law"? No, Vernon Bartlett! It would have been in favour of a clear injustice which the deceptive phraseology of the post-war period allowed to be suppressed for a certain time. Would that have been statesmanlike in the tradition of your Empire-builders? The answer is plain. Dear

Vernon Bartlett, please forgive me, but as a German I find it difficult to understand what the aim of English bad-temper and the present excited English utterances about Germany can really be. Most of these utterances seem to me to proceed, not from realities, but from false premisses and so, in my opinion, not to contribute to peace. For that reason at the moment only a few German-English conversations are of any use. Could you not do something to help us to deal more with the realities of Germany and England, for whose special spheres of work and interest the world of to-day is still big enough? Would the famous Prussian motto *"Suum Cuique"* not be, in your opinion, a good one for the future relationship between our two peoples?

Yours sincerely,

Freiherr von Rheinbaben,
Former Secretary of State.

Berlin.

We are glad to print Freiherr von Rheinbaben's reassuring letter and, if in fact the mayors of Leipzig and other important cities have not recently been dismissed in sensational circumstances, to withdraw insinuations about them. But the former Under-Secretary of State will easily recognise the difficulty of reporting on the situation in a state where the only sources of information are bald and often misleading official statements and wild rumours. We are quite as anxious as he could be that Anglo-German relations should improve, and one step towards their improvement would be a change in the Nazi attitude towards its political and racial minorities.

V. B.

THE U.S. ATTITUDE

SIR,—Since the election last week put a crimp in the New Deal, the little group of career men in the State Department

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or are you a mumbler? At the customs barrier mumbling is often excusable—but do you like mumbling to yourself or in conversation for want of a fact or clear-cut picture of, say, the present position in Spain or China or about the Mediterranean Problem, the Jewish Question or any other topic of the day about which, frankly, you haven't been able to keep fully informed?

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(your Foreign Office) who got the inept Roosevelt to help pull Chamberlain's chestnuts out of the fire are running around in circles on finding out that they let him in for a loss of popularity on account of the Munich sell-out. At first they kept insisting that Roosevelt's very humiliating plea to Mussolini had turned the trick in spite of Rome's reiteration of the fact that Mussolini had it arranged before he ever got Roosevelt's note. Now they are singing a different tune.

America will be very glad to see King George who is popular here as was his father. He'll be splendidly entertained and cordially greeted but he'll hardly change the American attitude toward Mr. Chamberlain's government. Before Munich we'd finally gone the limit after financing and furnishing economic support, but America will never have any confidence in the Chamberlain government. In financial circles in New York he'll still rate high but the ruling class in America will have none of him. Any government in Britain against Hitler and Mussolini could take us the limit.

Since Hitler's persecution of the Jews and Catholics Mr. Hull has been able to overcome the influence of the "Career boys" in the State Department, with the result that Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy has become stable and assertive. This is tending to increase his popularity. For example, with many thousands like myself who abominate his domestic policies, I am enthusiastically with him in his new foreign policy.

ERNEST M. GREEN.

New York.

BRITISH VOICE FROM SOUTH AMERICA

SIR,—We had just finished reading your article on "How we faced the war"—with which we thoroughly agree—when by the strangest coincidence we turned on the B.B.C. Empire broadcast to hear you were standing for Parliament. We certainly require urgently fresh blood in the Government, and we all hope you may be able to give your share in the many transfusions required. Our present leaders have led us into the most horrible mess, and it is absolutely pathetic to listen to their invitations to be patted-on-the-back for having extricated themselves, at the expense of British honour, from the results of their bungling. I dislike having anything to do with politics, but, living in a foreign country, where British prestige used to be 100 per cent good, we now go with the head bowed down. Just a week ago, a speech by Sir Thomas Inskip was published in the local dailies (in Spanish), in which he asked for great moderation in our language about Herr Hitler "even though he did deplorable things"; that we should not copy him, but try to "convert" him to our way of thinking, and doing things. To listen to such drivel in English must be tiresome, but to see it in Spanish simply *infuriates* one. I simply could not restrain myself, but sent the cutting to Sir Thomas, and suggested that the salmon-fishing season in Scotland might be prolonged for the Prime Minister's and the country's benefit.

Remember your slogan! *NO* TO DICTATORS!

A. L.

Lima, Peru.

DEFINITIONS

Socialism means that if you have two cows, you give one to your neighbour. Under Communism you give both cows to the government, which gives you back some of the milk. Under Fascism you keep the cows but give the milk to the government, which gives you some of it back. And under New Dealism you shoot one cow, milk the other and then pour the milk down the sink.—*"Wall Street Journal," New York.*

SWEDISH WINTER SPORTS
Where and When to Go

by ESTHER BLACK

FIRST of all let us run over the ways to get to Sweden. The thirty-five hour voyage from Tilbury by the direct sea-route to Gothenburg is probably the most popular. The forty-three hour Continental route across Germany by way of the Sassnitz-Tralleborg train ferry to Stockholm, is used largely by those who prefer land travel. The seven-hour aeroplane "hop" from Croydon to the Capital is used by all with plenty of money but little time. Any one of these ways into Sweden place one within striking distance of winter sport centres that provide excellent facilities for skiing and many other winter sports (some most uncommon) on snow and ice.

Stockholm has the merit of being not only a winter sports centre but one of Europe's loveliest Capitals; and perhaps never more so than in winter under its white robes. Ice-yachting and skate-sailing on Lake Malaren and the magnificent Stockholm archipelago are the highlights of the sport, which normally lasts from January to March. There is an excellent ski-jump (150 feet) at Fiskartorpet, just outside the city, and curling, bandy and hockey are available.

Dalecarlia, the heart of Sweden, six hours from Stockholm, has curling and skating rinks, and you can go ski-driving behind a horse—great sport—tobogganning and sleighing. The snow is usually good from January to March or April. The Vasa Ski Race over Lake Siljan in commemoration of the chase after Gustavus Vasa, the famous King, centuries back, attracts every February or March the best runners in Scandinavia. On the hills above Rattvik, good runs are laid out—though it must be said that there is a good deal of wood about in this district. But at Salen, in the extreme north of Dalecarlia, where a luxurious hotel has recently been opened, the country clears somewhat, the hills grow higher and, until March at least, one finds the most exciting terrain available.

A few hours further north lies the little town of Solleftea on the great logging river, the Angerman. Here, during March and April, in addition to a naturally fine ski-ing country, is Sweden's greatest ski-jump—a total of 230 feet, which it must be admitted most visitors prefer to watch rather than to attempt!

Jamtland has a particularly good name in Sweden for winter sports. The season extends until the end of April. In that month, and in March, the days are long, from 12 to 14 hours, and the snow is still

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Sweden has every natural advantage as a winter sports centre—good snow, long season and varied terrain; and Sweden has every man-made advantage, too—good hotels, warm hospitality, well organised travel. English is widely spoken and terms are wonderfully moderate.

SWEDEN

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deep, firm and fast. It has few outstanding peaks, the country being, in the main, of an undulating character. This enables one to enjoy, not so much the usual ski-running downhill, with its inevitable intervals of laborious ascent, as a series of reasonably graded "switchbacks."

For the more experienced, the centre of Are provides almost every kind of usual winter sport, with the addition of "Akja" riding. An "Akja" is a Lapp sleigh—a small light piece of work, beautifully designed, very fast, drawn by reindeer. The Are aeroplane and glider should be mentioned also. These alternatives provide the downhill ski-runner with a quick means of ascent to Mount Areskutan. Then he has an excellent 5,000 feet or so to negotiate to the valley below.

One of the greatest advantages of winter sports in Sweden is the fact that the sport continues long after the more southerly centres have lost their snow. At Ibisko, in Lapland, twenty-four hours by express train from Stockholm, you can have a whole month of magnificent ski-running and jumping on the great bare slopes of the Lapland mountains at Easter and the following weeks. And when one has finished there, Lapland winter sports have by no means finished; for at Riksgransen, two hours further west, the last Swedish station on the electric railway to Narvik, sports continue day *and* night (for the Midnight Sun—a startling spectacle—is then adding about ten hours to the normal ten of daylight) until mid-June!

Courses in ski-ing can be arranged during the season at Are, Storlien, Ramshyttan and Riksgransen. There are 50 per cent reductions in certain fares at special times for winter sport visitors to Sweden. Enquiries should be made as early as possible for in many Swedish centres accommodation is limited.

THE WORLD OF FINANCE

by "RAPIER"

In the City, the year opened with some optimism, but the Stock Exchange, having responded to the absence of obviously bad political news, is now experiencing difficulty in holding the tone and levels of its improvement. There is no business, and without buyers, the market tends to be weak : nor do the U.K. Bank Clearing figures for 1938 offer it encouragement. It would appear from these that the 1938 Stock Exchange turnover was about half that of 1937, and probably below 1932. At the moment of writing, there is no obvious reason why 1939 should provide greater Stock Exchange activity than 1938, for markets are, and look like being, for the whole of this year, political.

The Exchange Equalisation Fund

The most important monetary event in England since we abandoned the Gold Standard in 1931 occurred last month, when the Bank of England paid back to the Exchange Equalisation Fund the £350 millions of gold which it acquired in 1935/36. This operation has, of course, had the immediate effect of halting the fall of sterling against the dollar by bringing about some weak bear covering, but it can hardly be regarded as a bull point for the future, and the fresh weakness that has developed in the £ since the transfer is indicative of the pressure to which it is still likely to be subject so long as the exports of the country remain hampered by quotas and exchange restrictions, by weak commodity prices in the sterling area, by rearmament at home, and by the Continent's belief that New York is a safer place than London for its foreign balances. How great this pressure has been is shown by the fact that, in September, the resources of the Exchange Equalisation Fund were some £150 millions—the official figure—and by December 31st they had fallen to some £70 millions—the unofficial estimate of the "Economist."

Loss of Gold

If only 1939 were 1931, we should doubtless be congratulating ourselves that we had been able to rid ourselves of such large sums of "hot money" without serious inconvenience and without in any way affecting our industry by the withdrawal having caused a change in our credit structure. As it is, this reflection brings only small comfort, and in the loss of gold that has already left the country we have to recognise that our "War Chest" has been seriously depleted. To a country with gold resources of £650 millions, and with the mines of South Africa, Canada and the Gold Coast within the British Commonwealth of Nations, the loss of £80 millions of gold in three months may not appear very serious, nor except in terms of War experience is it, but £80 millions is little more than the bill for ten days of war, if the 1918 figures can still be taken to apply : and since our immediately marketable investments in the U.S.A. amount now to some £200 millions, against £750 millions in 1914, every £ of gold we lose now is of importance.

Meanwhile, the position of the £ is temporarily improved by the replenishment of the sterling resources of the Exchange Fund and by the reimposition of the controls relaxed in May last. Whether the Continent will later be induced to speculate against the £ remains to be seen: but with foreign deposits and investments in London of over £400 millions if a favourable psychological background should be created by Hitler or Mussolini, arguments would not be lacking should they decide to try. How successful they are likely to be is another story, for with Dominion balances here amounting to more than a quarter of the "foreign" interests in London, and with over £200 millions having already left, it would seem, at least superficially, that the main movement of funds away from London had already taken place. Unless, of course, for once the Englishman were, in this respect, to take a leaf from the French book.

French Finance

Since December, Paul Reynaud has gone from strength to strength. Rentes have risen by approximately 6% since the end of November, and equities have had a rise of 8%. French capital held abroad has returned, it is estimated, up to an amount of £95 millions, a conversion loan has been arranged for most of the foreign-owned French Government Railway Bonds, these issues having risen in London by a full 10%. The situation of M. Daladier's Government has further been helped by the badly stage-managed and ill-timed Italian agitation for the return of Corsica and Tunis, which in the first instance, somewhat surprisingly failed to take into account the late Napoleon Buonaparte, and in the second, overlooked the politically unifying effects such a demand must have on all classes

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of Frenchmen, a demand which, since it was not accompanied, as at Munich, by overwhelming military force, met its true reply in "à nous Vésuvie."

Whether, barring further unforseen foreign assistance, M. Reynaud's goods are not now all in the shop window remains to be seen. The critical time for the success of his plan is still ahead. For the really important re-imports of capital have yet to take place, and without these, his further measures can hardly succeed, for with all his adroitness, the French Budget is still formidably unbalanced, and, judged by democratic standards, the relationship of Government expenditure to National income remains awkwardly high.

Economic Strain in Germany

The visit of Dr. Schacht to London and Herr Funk to Italy, the unwillingness of the German Government to break relations with the U.S.A., the ordinance providing for the conscription of girl labour, the legalising of a 60-hour week and the elimination of certain posts within the Party machine, all point to increasing strain in the economic position within Germany: and to a situation which it is increasingly difficult to prevent becoming directly inflationary. Certainly a price rise in consumable goods in Germany at this moment would be most unwelcome to the Party, and obviously it will be prevented in so far as it is possible, but there is some indication that Dr. Ley's "Arbeitsfront" would welcome an increase in pay, and if, for political reasons, this had to be granted, a further rise in consumable goods would almost certainly follow.

Business in the U.S.

Meanwhile, commodity prices, after showing a disposition to improve, stand at their 1936 levels and now await the further development of business in the States. At the moment, the rate of improvement there has slowed down, which perhaps is only to be expected after the rapidity of its rise. Business activity there is now at a high level, and if only this can be maintained without a serious relapse or further sudden rise the outlook will be good. There are, however, many uncertainties in the American scene. And if we take into account what the repercussions, political and economic, of a fresh collapse in the American economy would be upon ourselves and France, not least among our wishes for 1939 should be that the Administration and Big Business there will compose their differences and study to create conditions under which Labour, Government and Private Enterprise can co-operate to increase their common wealth.

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DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS: DEC. 15—JAN. 14

AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

The Lima Conference (December 9th-28th) found itself faced with divergent views of "continental solidarity." The United States, on the one hand, sought to organise a common front against aggression or intrigues by non-American countries. Argentina, on the other hand, geographically more remote, was unwilling to antagonise valued customers in Europe or to accept any kind of tutelage from the United States, whose policy, it was feared, might some day revert to "realism." Nor was this fear wholly dispelled by a broadcast in which Mr. Landon (Republican) proclaimed his country's unswerving allegiance to the Monroe doctrine. Thanks, in part, to the mediation of M. Mello Franco (Brazil) a compromise text—the Declaration of Lima—was signed on December 26th. It founded the solidarity of the 21 states, without contractual obligation, on identity of principles (including equal sovereignty and excluding racial or religious prejudices). These principles they would defend against *"all foreign intervention or activities"*—a phrase covering what M. Remos (Cuba) termed "surreptitious penetration". If any of them were menaced *"by acts of any nature"* they would concert measures to make effective their solidarity. The Conference further adopted a "Declaration of Principles," including the observance of treaties, on the lines of Mr. Hull's "8 points for world peace."

In Germany and Italy the substitution of "Foreign" (intervention) for "non-American" and the absence of military clauses, were hailed as a rebuff for North-American imperialism, against which their observers had not ceased to warn the Latin-American delegates. Refuting such criticisms Mr. Hull declared, on his return (January 9th), that the American republics now stood united to defend the peace of the hemisphere.

In his address on January 4th President Roosevelt appealed to Congress to save the cause of religion, good faith and democracy; he spoke of measures "short of war but more effective than mere words" that might be adopted against aggressors, and advocated amendment of the Neutrality Act, which—as it stood—might favour the aggressor more than the victim. The speech was cordially welcomed by Mr. Chamberlain (January 5th) as indicating the vital rôle of the American democracy in world affairs.

On January 12th the President informed Congress that the world situation required new expenditure of £105,000,000 for strengthening the defences of the Panama Canal and of naval bases on both oceans and for 3,000 additional aeroplanes.

Meanwhile German-American relations became more strained. The United States had again to insist (December 16th and 28th) on the exemption of their citizens from anti-semitic decrees in Germany. Their demand for the settlement of inheritance claims arising in Germany was only conceded (December 22nd) after retaliation had begun. When the German Press announced that an apology had been demanded in Washington for Mr. Ickes' Cleveland speech (December 18th) denouncing the pogroms in Germany, the United States Press published (December 22nd) Mr. Welles' reply, declaring that Mr. Ickes spoke for the majority of Americans. Senator Pittman's statement (December 22nd) that the Americans "do not like" the German government and his commentary (January 5th) on the President's address, predicting economic sanctions against aggressors, incensed the Reich authorities, whose Press attributed America's attitude to Jewish influences, and hinted at a rupture of relations.

The announcement in Washington (December 23rd) that important naval

forces were being concentrated in the Atlantic, where a squadron would be permanently based, was related in the American Press to Germany's aggressive designs.

A naval writer in the Kölnische Zeitung (December 30th) justified the claim of the Reich, notified to London before Christmas, to increase its ratio of submarines and cruisers under the naval agreements of 1935, 1937, by the projected increase of American naval armaments, compelling the "Axis" powers to reckon with the combined strength of the British and American navies.

In view of the exposure of the Aaland Islands in case of a Russo-German conflict, and their strategic importance, an agreement was concluded between Sweden and Finland at Stockholm (January 7th), subject to approval by the League of Nations, that the Aaland Islands Convention of 1921 should be modified to allow of the southern part of the archipelago being fortified by Finland, to whom it was assigned by the League, and of a local defence force being recruited under Swedish-speaking officers of the Finnish army.

FRANCE AND ITALY

After the declarations by M. Bonnet (December 14th) and the Frenchmen of all parties that France would cede none of her possessions the Italian Press moderated its claims for expansion, for which the Government still declined responsibility. On December 22nd Italy denounced the (unratified) "Laval" treaty of 1935, and called upon France to make fresh proposals in pursuance of the London treaty of 1915, a contention refuted by the French government's note of December 26th. In regard to Tunis the Rome press argued that France was altering the *status quo*—which the German *Diplomatisch Information* (January 11th) declared to be no longer "real"—and that Italy must therefore safeguard her ancient treaty rights. The denunciation of the "Laval" treaty raised doubts as to the status of Domeira Island and the lands adjoining the Bab-el Mandeb strait which were ceded to Italy by that treaty. Owing to alleged encroachments in French Somaliland by Italian troops the garrison of that colony was reinforced at the end of the year. It was hoped in Rome that these questions might be discussed with Mr. Chamberlain during his visit; M. Bonnet however made it clear (December 28th), that, the dispute being solely between France and Italy, no mediation was admissible. This view, in which Great Britain concurred, was re-emphasised by M. Daladier when the British ministers visited the Quai d'Orsay (January 10th) on their way to Rome. French opinion held, moreover, that the tone of the Italian Press demands had made their consideration impossible. Dominating all these issues was the continuance of Italian intervention in Spain. Italy's demands for a share in control of the Suez Canal and reductions of dues so alarmed Egypt, to whom the Canal concession must revert in thirty years, that they were attenuated by the Italian Press (December 11th) and subordinated to Egypt's sovereign rights.

M. Daladier was enthusiastically received in Corsica and Tunisia, which he visited (January 1st-8th) to inspect their defences. At Algiers (January 7th) he declared that France would firmly oppose all attacks "by force or ruse" and would cede not an acre of her Empire.

GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY

With the British minister's visit to Rome in prospect Anglo-Italian relations wore a friendlier aspect, though the Italian Press was disappointed that Great Britain regarded the *status quo* in Tunisia as covered by the Anglo-Italian Pact. In the speeches at Rome (January 11th) the policies of the two empires were respectively defined, by Mr. Chamberlain, as "friendship for all and enmity with none" and by *Il Duce* as "peace based on justice." These motives governed the conversations next day in which the major questions of the moment were surveyed, each side stating its attitude without any new commitment being envisaged. Thus *Il Duce* maintained

the justice of Italy's "aspirations" and renewed his assurances that the Legionaries would be withdrawn from Spain when, but not before, General Franco's triumph was complete. Mr. Chamberlain showed that Italy's claims on France were not suitable for mediation by Great Britain and that the latter could never be unmoved by a threat to France, nor could she recognise General Franco as a belligerent except on the terms fixed by the Non-Intervention Committee, or be unmindful of Italy's pledges to respect the integrity of Spain and the Mediterranean *status quo*. Among the positive results of the meeting were the warmth of the personal welcome given to Mr. Chamberlain and his conviction that the visit had established better contact, and would bear fruit later in improved European co-operation.

UKRAINE, HUNGARY, ETC.

The Russo-Polish trade agreement was announced on December 23rd, but Moscow still showed reserve towards Poland's foreign policy, which was thought to aim at balancing the friendships of her neighbours. There was increasing evidence in Galicia of the hopes aroused among the Polish Ukrainians by the grant of autonomy to Ruthenia. The Ukrainian autonomy bill, introduced on December 9th, was ruled out of order by the Speaker of the Sejm (December 21st). On December 18th Poland sharply complained to Czechoslovakia of "certain organisations" working in her territory to create a Great Ukrainian state. In Prague it was observed that the complaint should have been addressed to the Reich, which had active agencies in Ruthenia and was reported by the Polish Press to be broadcasting propaganda in Ukrainian.

In view of frequent clashes on the Slovak-Hungarian frontier the Reich Foreign Office organ (December 28th) reminded all concerned that the Vienna award of November 2nd was final; however, on January 6th-8th serious fighting with tanks and artillery occurred at Muncacs (now Hungarian) on the Ruthenian border followed by combats at Ungvar and Bercincos. Each side attributed the aggression to the other. On January 9th, after a critical twenty-four hours, a truce was established pending an enquiry by a mixed commission.

As foreshadowed by the Hungarian foreign minister, in a Press article (December 24th) after Count Ciano's visit to Budapest, Hungary decided (January 13th) on the invitation of Germany, Italy and Japan to adhere to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

On the Catalan front General Franco began his expected offensive (December 23rd) with 26 divisions, four of which were partly or wholly Italian. In the first phase, marked by the capture of Artesa (January 3rd) and Borjas Blancas (January 5th) the advance of his left south-eastwards from Tremp and on his right, south of Lerida into the angle of the Segre and Ebro rivers, shattered the right and left wings of the Republicans, who sought to establish a second line of defence parallel to the Tarragona-Artesa road. In the next phase, marked by the capture of Tortosa and Tarragona (January 14th, 15th) General Franco's centre advanced through the Balaguer bridgehead towards Cervera, entering Barcelona province at Coloma (January 14th), while his right, turning south-east, fought its way towards the sea, compelling the Republicans who suffered severely from lack of supplies to evacuate the Lower Ebro; they had lost, in three weeks, 3,000 square miles and 30,000 prisoners; an emergency decree (January 14th) summoned their citizens aged from 17 to 55 to the colours.

An advance begun by General Miaja (January 5th), north-west of Cordoba, to relieve the pressure on Catalonia, progressed to within 13 miles of the Seville-Burgos railway (January 13th) when it was checked by serious resistance. Another Republican offensive was attempted (January 13th) near Brunete west of Madrid.

The Burgos government by a decree

(December 15th) reinstated ex-King Alfonso in his rights as a Spanish citizen. A delicate situation arose (January 2nd) owing to the arrest of the British pro-consul in San Sebastian for alleged complicity in the transmission of military intelligence to the Republicans. General Franco was understood to have declined (December 30th) to give immediate compensation for the bombing of British ships or to accept a commission of enquiry into the facts.

The United States authorised (December 21st) facilities for shipment of 100,000 barrels of flour monthly to Republican Spain for distribution by the Red Cross; the sale of 45,000 tons of wheat to Barcelona was authorised by the French government (January 10th).

THE FAR EAST

Prince Konoye announced (December 22nd) the terms on which hostilities might be ended, once the Kuomintang was overthrown. They comprised: recognition of Manchukuo; adherence to an anti-communist pact; acceptance of Japanese garrisons; Inner Mongolia to form an "anti-communist area"; freedom for Japanese to trade in China and to exploit her resources; Japan to respect China's sovereignty, to seek the abolition of extra-territorial rights. Though claiming no monopoly for herself or restricting the interests of Powers which discerned the meaning of the new East Asia, General Chang Kai-Shek (December 26th) rejected these conditions outright and reiterated his resolve to resist to the end; but Mr. Wang Ching Wei, Chairman of the Political Council left Chungking and published a statement (December 30th) recommending the terms as a basis of discussion, though the Japanese troops must be withdrawn. The Kuomintang disavowed this peace movement, and expelled Mr. Wang, who had gone to Shanghai (January 3rd), from the party.

The United States decided (December 16th) to authorise credits of $25,000 to a Chinese trading group to finance exports of American goods. This step, described as "dangerous" by the Japanese foreign minister, was followed (December 19th) by an extension of the Bank of China's powers to borrow dollars in America. At the same time it became known that Great Britain had granted China a first credit of £500,000 to buy lorries for use on the new Burma-Chungking road. Replying to the Japanese note of November 18th the United States declared categorically (December 30th) that Japan was discriminating against American interests; while offering to discuss the changed conditions by peaceful negotiation, the note denied Japan's right to declare American rights non-existent. Plans for an embargo on trade with Japan as a "discriminating" State, pursuant to the Tariff Statutes, were reported to have been prepared in Washington; the Administration's policy of "moral suasion" had almost caused a cessation of American exports of air-material to Japan and of credits for financing Japanese enterprises in North China. Great Britain was also reported (January 6th) to be examining means for protecting her trading rights.

The Japanese Press (December 22nd) sharply criticised the British and American credits to China and urged the abolition of the foregn concessions. The latter had recently, at Tientsin and Hankow, been virtually blockaded. A British warship was sent to Tientsin (December 19th) and, after protests by the French and British consuls-general, the position there was somewhat improved. The semi-official *Nichi-Nichi* (about January 10th) declared that Japan would retaliate against any economic pressure exerted upon her by Great Britain or America.

Tension increased between Japan and Russia owing to the latter's refusal (December 16th) to renew the Fisheries Convention, which expired on January 1st after being extended for one year. Japan was reported to have moved five divisions from North China into Manchukuo and to have threatened to conduct the fisheries, next spring, under naval protection.

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